A HISTORY OF PAKISTAN



DR. M. A. AZIZ

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(PAST AND PRESENT)

by

Dr. M. A. Aziz

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In
memory of my sister
Tahzib-al-Nisa

من همان مشتِ غبارم که به جای نه رسد
لاله از تست و نم ابرِ بهاری از تست
(اقبال)

I am the same handful of dust
Nowhere does that settle down
From thee they take their form
The tulip and the mosited spring cloud

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I am thankful to Dr. Farman Fatehpuri for initiating the idea to work on writing "A History of Pakistan" for the general reader and making arrangements for its publication. No less has been the contribution made by Dr. Mueen-ur-Rahman in this respect and I sincerely acknowledge it.

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INTRODUCTION

The book entitled "A History of Pakistan (Past and Present)" is brought out to provide a brief authentic material for the general reader. It contains relevant data on the pre-historic age as well as on the Muslim and the British periods including the long struggle that has gone into the making of Pakistan and sustaining it as an independent sovereign state. Nothing invidious and nothing sacrosanct; facts have been stated in their historical perspective to build up a premise for a thoughtful analysis. An effort has been made to be objective and logical, neither sermonization nor villification, but bearing in mind that histories written under the cover of the British imperialism had but little regard for the correct enumeration of the facts to explain the Muslim standpoint, this book is intended to fill that gap. Emotions have seldom found their way in the treatment of the subject except wherever necessary to re-assure its invocation.

Whimpered by an ignominious remark of otherwise a learned American acquaintance when I was a student in the United States, I was anxious to write on the subject to give a correct picture of the moving spirit that led to the establishment of mighty empires and the development of a unique culture which recognized the equality of man for the first time ; but when thrown into the abyss of decline the strength that sustained it and the reactivization of the struggle to stamp our identity on the map of the world. But until today when I have been able to present the material, circumstances caused delay after delay.

It all happened in a fairly good gathering on a fascinating lawn of a big American university. Good atmosphere and good things to eat, and, of course, good things to talk, when I was suddenly confronted with a very odd question. A highly educated American in his greying years said to me in an inquiring tone, "Tell me, youngman, now that the American aid is being given to Pakistan, did you learn to make brick-houses?" Humiliating as it was, it was equally infuriating, but before any retrieval trouncing I nodded my head with a cold countenanee. "Much more than that; and, sir as I gather your from question, you have a good knowledge of our history, I would, therefore, take a little liberty, and in reply to your question say that when you were still living in log-cabins we built the Taj Mahal." And it rolled round the familiar maxim, "We silly Americans ...." The reply may be construed to be a little emotional and egotistic, but it has not been true that way. It had served the purpose at that time, but it required more than mere solicitude. A solid work to dispel the apprehension and counter the propaganda, and I am glad I have made an initial step in this direction.

Yet another illusion that is being bred and nursed in our concept of nationhood and needs be driven away from our thoughts and actions is the philosophy of regional and parochial culture surpassing and excelling the superior or the principal culture. For quite some time a group of "intellectuals" have vigorously paraded the socialistic interpretation of culture that emanates from a small or big ethnic group. This wiew had been repeatedly trumpeted through the official mass media until it was totally stopped by the intervention of the Government.

They unequivocally maintained that since the ideological struggle for the creation of Pakistan was not based on realism that would have an appeal to the modern man, it resulted in a lot of mistrust and bloodshed. A happy situation they claim, could still have augured had the regional cultural component been allowed to interplay to form a process of cultural evolution. As a result of this interaction either a new culture could have been born or else some kind of fusion might have taken place in due course of time. But

since neither of the two processes were allowed to operate, the resultant factors confused the situation and instead of having a tendency to move upward it had tilted a downward curve. Something has been continuously superimposed from outside they maintain. But what is that something ? Obviously it is a subtle reference to Islam and Islamic virtues. Are these really alien to the Muslims ? Don't they still catch their imagination or do they fail to discover any common ground to think and act ? Whatever the answers, they are the least concerned. They have only one theme and one idea to propagate ....that the theory that the Muslims were a nation distinct from the Hindus has miserably failed and ended in a chaos. In this respect they quote the example of the debacle of East Pakistan with regional Benglaism as the chief issue, and in West Pakistan the vagaries of the regional culture that is being idolized.

Much has been written to repudiate the contention, but it needs a repeated re-assurance that the Muslim culture in the sub-continent was not the result of any geographical or of any socio-economic formula mutually agreed among its constituent units, but it was the result of a highly sophisticated culture based on the monotheistic concept of life in the universe and brought by the Muslim settlers to the Indian polytheistic society. The Muslims of India have made Pakistan the embodiment of the Muslim culture and Islamic civilization and not the museum of a so-called Bengali, Sindi, Baluchi, Pathan and Punjabi culture which only represent shades of the principal culture. This point has been discussed in the book to clarify the Muslim standpoint. Suffice it to say here that "the nation of the Messenger of the House of Hashim is unique in its characteristics." As a matter of fact the Muslim nationhood was born of the factors that distinguished them from the largest component of the Indian population and started with the advent of Islam in the sub-continent. Dr. Iqbal has vociferously advocated the identity of the Muslim nation in his writings. This went deep into the heart of the Muslims and when it came to a collective practical expression the entire Muslim nation from the Karakorem to the Ras Kumari and from the Hindukush to the Arakan hills rallied round the Quaid-i-Azam and demonstrated its will as a solid rock with fortitude and determination.

Islam transcends all the barriers of race, colour, language and geography. It is blind to all sorts of parochial tendencies and does not harbour any ill will or malice against any one. In this context it may be safely said that four or five administrative units carved out during the British rule did not by themselves evoke any desire to form an independent state because each of them had a culture different from the other and were prepared to surrender some of their cultural values according to an agreed formula to constitute an independent state. On the contrary the whole nation whether living in a Muslim minority or a majority province expressed its desire to make the Muslim majority provinces a repository of the Muslim will. This is as clear as it is and needs not be given a new shade or colour or meaning. Let its pure and original fragrance keep the minds fresh.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part starts with the Indus valley civilization and concludes with the Revivalist movement ; the second part covers the most critical period of our history......from the War of Independence in 1857 to the Emergence of Pakistan in 1947 ; while the third part deals with the period following the creation of Pakistan. In the compilation of this book help has been taken from the authentic source records, but to make it simple only one general reference has been given in the foot-note. At the same time a comprehensive bibliography has been appended to give the reader an opportunity to pick up any book to study any of the topics in depth. However, the interpretations interposed here and there to clarify an issue have less been a borrowing than expressing my own conclusions. The reader may agree with or reject my point of view and instead can form his opinion on the authority of the facts enumerated in the book. If I have been able to invigorate thinking in the right direction, I am fully rewarded and there is no better reward than vindicating the perception in its right perspective.

I hope the book would meet the purpose for which it has been written.

Karachi
April, 1977

Dr. M. A. Aziz

PART I

- ★ Pre-Islamic Civilization
- ★ The Advent of Islam
- ★ General Characteristics of the Muslim Rule
- ★ The Great Mughals
- ★ Decline of the Muslim Power
- ★ Revivalist Movement

CHAPTER 1

PRE-ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

Pakistan has been carved out of the British India in 1947. But the history of the land can be traced back to several thousand years extending to the Indus valley civilization which was similar to the Sumerian civilization in the fertile crescent. The people living in the Indus valley some 5,000 years back had strong ties of trade and commerce with its western and northern neighbours.

Harappa and Moen-Jo-Daro : The archaeological remains lying buried at Harappa in district Sahiwal, Moen-Jo-Daro in district Larkana and similar other smaller sites in various parts of the country have been excavated in recent years. These excavations have exposes to the modern man the early endeavours of the human society in organizing its social, cultural and political life. It has now been established that some five thousand years ago a highly cultured society had laid down the foundations of a flourishing civilization which ranked high among the ancient civilizations of the fertile crescent and the Nile valley :[1]

The following remains found after excavation of the ruined towns throw light on the life of the people who built these towns and developed the civilization that once flourished in the Indus Valley.[2]

(1) Lay out of the city (2) Statues

(3) Seals (4) Dress and Ornaments

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1. Khan, F.A.
2. Majumdar, R.C., *The Advanced History of India*, London, 1956, pp. 15-20.

(5) House Hold articles
(6) Skeletons of domesticated animals
(7) Weapons
(8) Paintings and pictorial writings.

It is unfortunate that the written records of the Indus valley civilization are not available. This keeps many interesting things of the past covered in mystery. The inscriptions on the seals found in the relics have not yet been deciphered and are left to speculations. But the information gathered through a careful study of the layout of the town, the public amenities and the designs of the household reveals that the inhabitants of Harappa and Moen-Jo-Daro were highly cultured and civilized people. The brick-built houses, the market place, lanes and streets and public baths demonstrates their skill in architecture, engineering and town planning. It appears no other people in the past except the Babylonions in the Tigro-Euphertese valley (fertile crescent) and the Hamarites in Egypt could compare with them in their high attainments. When the writings are deciphered many interesting things may be revealed.[3]

The city of Moen-Jo-Daro was big and had a forty feet rampart wall around the city, beautiful lines of brick houses, pillared halls baths, public places, markets, lanes and streets For a moment take yourself back when Harappa and Moen-Jo-Daro were great centres of business and industry, and see yourself small carts running in the streets, short horned buffalous moving about and sometimes elephant walking majestically and the buzzing human life trading with the foreigners and conducting the internal business.[4]

They were said to have brown complexion, curly black hair, thick lips and flat hollowed cheeks. They used cotton fabrics and warm textile, and both men and women wore some ornaments made of gold, silver, ivory, copper and precious stones. The most popular ornaments in use were necklaces, fillets, armlets, finger rings and bangles. They used utencils of different size and shape with beautiful paintings on them, and followed many professions which included farming, pottery, weaving, carpentary, masonry, metal work (gold,

3. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-20;
4. *Ibid.*

silver, copper, iron, bronze etc.), stone cutting and sculpturing. They had a well regulated life under a social and economic system and had trade relations with communities living in the east and the west. They were peaceful people and had no deadly weapons. Although not much is known about their faith, many of the objects found at these sites lead us to guess that they worshipped the mother goddess and a male deity.[5]

The samples of the grains found in these towns confirm that they raised barley, rye, wheat and cotton ; husbanded cattle and used the raw-material for producing finished goods. They built granneries for storing grains and kept them clean and free of moisture. The kilns located outside the residential sector of the town were used for burning the bricks and the beautiful clay-pottery.[6]

In recent years it was discovered that the water of Indus was causing seepage in the town. The danger that the precious ruins might be completely destroyed and washed away, startled the Government of Pakistan. It had, therefore, approached the Unesco to help the government save and preserve the site. The Unesco sent a team of experts to study, the ways and means of preserving the town. Many joint sessions of the Unesco experts and the officials of the Department of Archaeology were held on the site and a plan to save the town from destruction has been worked out. At present an elaborate scheme for its implementation is being prepared. The Government of Pakistan spends a fairly good amount of money on its repair for example in 1974-75 Rs. 12,00,C00 have been spent on this item alone [7]

The Government of Pakistan has taken yet another important step to popularize the site for foreign and local visitors. The Moen-Jo-Daro airport has been renovated to handle jet planes. Modern comfortable hotel accommodations are being provided for the tourists who would like to stay to have rather a full look of the site and marvels of the man in the pre-historic times. Moen-Jo-Daro is connected by a well laid road with Larkana that has already had rail and road links with other towns of the country.[8]

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5. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-23.
7. Year Book, 1974.
8. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, 18-23.

FOREIGN INVASIONS AND SETTLEMENTS ARYANS, IRANIANS, GREEKS AND KUSHANS

Aryans : The arrival of the Aryans in India across the Hindukush mountains opened a new chapter in the history of the people inhabiting the land south of the Himalayan ranges. It is commonly believed that the Aryans migrated to India and Europe in the form of several human waves and established their authority in the newly acquired lands. The first migration to this part of the world took place between 2000 and 1500 B.C. The hordes of the Aryans crossed the valleys of Swat and Kabul and mastered the Sepata Sindhu (Indus valley). They had either destroyed the local population or driven them out to make room for themselves. The first wave was followed by several small migrations until the second wave stormed India through Gilgit and Chitral and pushed away their settlements to the Indo-Gangetic plains and possibly to the Deccan.[9]

Opinions differ about the original home of the Aryans, but it is generally believed that their real home was the Central Asia from where they branched off to Europe, Iran and India.[10]

Rigveda, Yajurveda and Atharveda are the three principal books that provide information about the contemporary life. Although the Hindus consider them divine gospels, their philosophy of life is not based on any strict religious belief. It varies from region to region in form and rituals. It had developed into the present form much later under the influence of the Sumertis, the Puranas, the Upnashids and a score of other writings. The Aryans worshipped nature in all its manifestation, represented by several deities,[11]

When the Aryan tribes settled down in the Indo-Gangetic plains, the life in their settlements remained tribal. Each tribe was led by its chief selected by the tribe. But when these small settlements grew into villages and towns the social and economic needs made them move towards a more organized civil life. Many tribes mixed together and formed a sort of administrative union. In the beginning the head was elected but with the passage of time the kingdoms ruled by the rajas and their sons. The Aryans lived in fortified settle-

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9. *Ibid.* 10. *Ibid.* 11. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40

ment which usually had four gates bearing the names of their principal deities.[12]

The Aryans loved nature and many of their customs in the Vedic period originated from their love of nature. They liked dance and music, rath (chariot) racing, gambling and hunting. Unlike their Hindu descendents there was no taboo attached to the eating of the meat, whether it was mutton or beef. Originally they did not have any coin and most of the business was carried on through a system of barter exchange.[13]

In their new settlements thus picked up farming as a profession, but during the Vedic period they know only to cultivate rice and barley. The other varieties of grain were introduced much later.[14]

Hinduism—Caste System : The Aryans divided themselves into four professional classes. In the beginning these classes were not rigid. The change of profession was permissible but later the change of profession was altogether banned. This gave birth to the Hindu caste system divided into several sub-castes. The principal four castes are : (1) Brahmina (2 Khashtria (3) Vesha and (4) Shudra. The Shudras are taken as the lowest of all.[15]

Brahmin : The Brahmin was the supreme form of human being. He controlled the moral, religious, political and economic life of the people, their trade and commerce, promotion of learning, administration of justice and other cultural pursuits. The Brahminic philosophy of life was based on the transmigration of soul for the ultimate salvation. According to Manu the Shudras, were doomed to live and die without any hope of Nirvana, because they had only one birth.[16]

This cult of supremacy created a cause of concern among a large section of the society and agitated the mind of the right thinking people. The Brahminic tyranny brought the Hindu society to a point where a revolutionary social and economic change appeared to be inevitable. The chief exponents of the cause of the poor who revolted

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-40. 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-34. 14. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 34. 16. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 3-224.

against the Brahminic philosophy were Mahabir of Jainism and Goutam of Buddhism.

Born as a revolt against Brahmanism, Budhism preached that Nirvana could be achieved through good work and challenged the Prahmanic cult more vigorously and succeeded for some time in throwing off their superiority.

The founder of Budhism was the son of Raja Saddhodana of Kapilvastu. His name was Siddhartha. He was brought up in comfort and luxury. But the inhuman treatment of the people and particularly the Shudras agitated his mind. He renounced the world and in search of truth passed through several stages of worship and complete negation of self. He wandered and wandered until one day at Buddha Gaya in the state of Behar (India) the light dawned. He was inspired to have found out the truth which he preached throughout his life.[17]

Buddha said that Nirvana (salvation) could be achieved through practising Ahimsa Parmudharma and the 'Noble Eightfold Path'—Right views, Right aspiration, Right speeches, Right conduct, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right mindfulness and Right contemplation.[18]. Ashoka and Kanishka were the chief architects of the faith. Ashoka placed the resources of his kingdom and authority in the service of his religion. His inscriptions on the pillars, mounds and rocks and sending missions to propagate the religion show his enthusiasm for his faith. And so was Kanishka in his zeal. Buddhism gained ground in the Central Asia, China and South East Asia, but due to the Brahminic hostility declined in India and then completely wiped off.[19]

The Buddhist constitute a very insignificant minority in Pakistan. The majority of the Buddhist live in the Chittagong Hill tract that now forms a part of Bangla Desh (former East Pakistan). The followers of Buddhism are very few in this part of the country. The Govenment of Pakistan looks after their interest and accords them all possible help.

The Iranian Invasion : In the sixth century B.C. Cyrus laid the

17. *Ibid.* 18. *Ibid.* 19. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-224.

foundation of the Achaemenian empire and annexed the Gandhara Kingdom around modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi.[20]

During the reign of Darius I the whole of the Indus Valley as far as Rajputana was made a part of the empire. But when the Iranian hold become weak the eastern territory was divided into small kingdoms of independent rulers.[21]

The Iranians had in many ways made a marked influence on the social and cultural life of the people. Iranian customs and practices were adopted including the script written from right to left.[22]

The Greek Invasion : The weakness of the Achaemenian power also made several cracks in the western part of the empire. In 336 B.C. Alexander occupied the throne of Macedon in Greece. He was powerful, ambitious and remarkably energetic. He moved out of his country with a large army to avenge the past defeats by conquering the Achaemenian territories. In the two decisive battles in 331 B.C. he defeated the Iranian king who died as a fugitive the following year. He stayed three years in Iran and then marched on to conquer India.[23]

Alexandar came through Chitral and Swat. He crossed the river Indus at Ouhind, Raja Ambi of Taxila submitted and collaborated with him in inflicting a defeat on Raja Paurave who decided to resist the invader. Alexander went as far as river Beas in the east; but since his army was reluctant to go any further he revised his plan and came back to Jhelum to make his way to the open sea. He reduced the small kingdoms in Sind and continued his journey. After his return to Babylon he died in 323 B.C. His death disintegrated his vast empire within a very short time. Chandragupta Maurya had been able to establish his authority upto river Indus and effected a favourable treaty with Seleukes who then ruled the eastern dependencies of Alexander.[24]

Efforts of the Greek Invasion : The efforts of the Greek invasion were manifold. New trade routes were opened and the sea and the land communications developed. The art of sculpturing discovered a new

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20. *Ibid.*, pp 63-68. 21. *Ibid.* 22. *Ibid.* 23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-69.

form and influenced the Buddha sculptures of the time. In the realm of knowledge the Greek philosophy and medicine had their mark on the Indian thinking.[25]

Kushans : The Kushans who had been able to establish a powerful Government in the first century A D. under the leadership of Kadphises I were a branch of Yue-che nomads of the Central Asia. The Kushan empire reached its zenith during the reign of Kanishka. Huein Tsang. credited him an empire extending from the eastern Turkistan to the river Ganges with Purushpura (Peshawar) as the seat of the Government. Kanishka was later converted to Buddhism. He championed the cause of his new religion with great zeal and earned for himself an enviable place in the history of Buddhism in no way less important than Asoka.

The importance of the Kushan rule is not due to its large territory or strong Government, but rather due to the patronage Kanishka extended to the propagation of Buddhism and the promotion of learning. He partenized Asvaghesha Vishwamitra, Chark and others who made their contribution to human knowledge as religious leaders, poets, dramatists, sculpturists, physicians and still others who found expression in other fields of knowledge.[26]

Taxila : Taxila which survived the ravages of time is a great name in history. Taxila came into prominence during the Iranian occupation and was a thriving town when Alexander invaded the territory. Standing on the main route to Iran and the Central Asia it served as a meeting ground of many cultures. But unlike Harappa and Moen-Jo-Daro the city was not founded on any organized plan. Its narrow winding lanes, small dwellings, inadequate water supply had shadowed over its otherwise booming life.

Taxila had some imposing public buildings which still stand on the deserted site and remind the visitors of their past grandeur. It was a great centre of learning and had a big university which attracted scholars from all over the world, particularly the Buddhist scholars who flocked there to acquire knowledge. The principal subjects of Buddhism were the vedas, mathematics, sculpturing and many other sciences.[27].

25. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69. 26. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-23. 27. *Ibid.*

Taxila is gaining prominence once again. With the help of the Peoples Republic of China a heavy mechanical complex is being developed rapidly at Taxila. This project has given a new impetus to the development of the town as a centre of industry and commerce. Conscious of its glorious past the Government of Pakistan has one time decided to establish a university, specializing in the study of Buddhism which would soon be established. Even today standing majestically on the routes leading to China, Central Asia and the Middle East Taxila is once again building up its future, perhaps, never to be thrown to decay and ruin.

CHAPTER II

THE ADVENT OF ISLAM

Islam and the Prophet of Islam :

Among the revealed religions of the world Islam is the last and the youngest. It is a complete, perfect and universal code of life for the guidance of mankind. It has been revealed to the Prophet of Islam to help man realize his own self by submitting to the will of God and conquering the marvels of nature for the good of all. The Prophet of Islam preached his monotheistic creed and universal brotherhood against untold miseries and hardships. He was ridiculed, abused and persecuted, but to him there was no greater comfort than the sufferings for his mission. The redeemer of the ailing humanity did not react to their ignorance and voilence. He stood firm in adversity and endured patiently the hardships, murder attempts, scufflings, wars and economic blockades. But when he entered Makka (Mecca) in triumph he was generous to his foes and adversaries. Never did the world witness the deadliest of the foes (Abu Sufyan) being forgiven and his house declared an abode of peace. The Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) overwhelmed the victorious Muhammad (Peace be upon him).[1]

He was fearless, magnanimous, accommodating, sincere and honest in his dealings and was dedicated to his mission. He preached his monotheism as revealed to him in the Quran, and by his simple impressive behaviour and persuasion brought the non-believers into the fold of Islam and converted them into a dynamic force that

1. Suleman Nadvi, *Sirat-ul-Nabi* and Suleman Mansurpuri, *Rahmat-ul-lil-almin*.

established its moral, intellectual and political superiority all over the world.[2]

When he found his stay in Makkah dangerous to his life and less helpful for his mission he migrated to Madina where he received help and a foothold for the new faith. But even here his enemies did not leave him in peace. He was forced to have many encounters with them for the survival and the glory of Islam. But his endurance, patience and faith in God helped him overcome these difficulties. He established in Madina a social order based on equity and justice and free from moral and economic corruption. This unity of purpose made the Muslims a living force with initiative and drive ; and when having completed his mission the Prophet of Islam passed away on June 8, 632 A.D. which was the thirteenth year of the hijrah, they were the most disciplined people, ready to take the word of God to every corner of the world.[3]

His companions carried on his mission faithfully and within a short period of 25 years the Muslims had spread over Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Iran. The newly acquired territories were brought under one administration and unified as one millat.[4] During the second decade of the eighth century while the memory of the inspiring personality of the Prophet and his faithful companions was still fresh, three expeditions were sent to three different directions. Musa Bin Nusair and his illustrious commander Tariq bin Ziyad conquered Spain in Europe ; Qutaiba ibn Muslim subdued Transoxiana ; while Muhammad bin Qasim annexed Sind. These territories then formed the farthest frontiers of the caliphate.[5]

ISLAM IN SIND

Before the advent of Islam in the sub-Continent the Arabs had already had their trade relations with India and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and had a considerable knowledge of the regional topography. When the southern Arabia and Iran were brought under the fold of Islam, expeditions were sent to Makran and Kalat. During the

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2 *Ibid.* 3. Suleman Nadvi.
4. Hitti, P.R. *History of the Arabs*, London, 1953, pp. 41-42, 139-73.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-217.

caliphate of Hazrat Umar (حضرت عمر), Osman bin Abi al-Aas (عثمان بن ابی العاص), the governor of Oman and Bahrain sent an expedition which went as far as Thana and Baruj (Bharoach) on the Western coast to explore the possibility of further extension. Yet another exploratory mission was sent by Abdullah bin Amir (عبداللہ بن عامر) who was the governor of Iraq. This mission visited Makran to gather strategic military information about the land and the people. The following report was sent to the governer :

> "Makran is a desert without any vegetation. Water is scarce and the fruits not to the Arab taste. There are innumerable thieves and dacoits. If the army is small, it will be wiped off and if large it will starve."

Since the report was not encouraging, no military expedition was sent. But during the caliphate of Hazrat Ali (حضرت علی) an expedition was sent to Qiqan (Kalat) in 42 A.H. But since these expeditions were only military surveys they did not produce any result, but they served as good as guides for any serious military operation in the future.[6]

Apart from these surveys which had little military significance the old commercial contacts of the Muslim Arab with the coastal communities in India were growing. The exchange of commodities also provided the oppurtunity of exchange of views. Many people on the western coast were inspired by the new faith and embrace Islam. The Arab seamen continued to navigate the Indian and Pacific oceans and made trips to China, establishing their trademanship in almost all the islands on their way. Some of the Muslim families settled down in (Ceylon) whose ruler had good relations with the caliphate. The sea traffic between Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and the ports in the land of Islam was common. It was during such normal voyage from Sri Lanka to Basra that the sea pirate plundered the ship near the port Debul (according to one research modern Bhambor in Thatta) and imprisoned the travellers. Hajjaj bin Yousuf Thaqafi the Governor of Basra, sent a request to the ruler of Sind to release the prisoners and deliver the pirated merchandise, but the mission failed. Raja Dahir showed

6. Ikram, S.M., *Ab-i-Kausar*, Feroz Sons, Lahore, 1952, pp. 21-22.
Aziz, M.A., *Hamari Tarikh*, Lahore, 1954, Muhammad.Bin Qasim .

no concern over the incident and replied that he did not have any control over the pirates.[7]

This muffled pronouncement of innocence was a big challenge to the pride of Hajjaj who was a great confidant of the caliph. This prompted him to send a detachment to settle down the mess. He obtained the permission of the caliph, and accordingly in 711 A.D. despatched a contingent of 6,000 Syrian soldiers under the youthful command of his capable son-in-law, Muhammad bin Qasim Thaqafi. Muhammad stormed Debul, and his minjaniq (منجنیق) the fore-runner of the modern artillery played havoc. Debul and Nerun surrendered ; whereupon he pushed northward and captured Multan. The newly acquired territories were then merged into the vast domain of the caliphate to constitute its easter frontier.[8]

Many of the Muslim civil administrators and the military personel, the businessmen and the learned people who happened to come to Sind made it their permanent home. Their moral integrity, benevolence, honesty and polished behaviour attracted many people to the new religion. This provided Islam a surer ground to penetrate into Baluchistan and Sind and reach every hearth and home. The spread of Islam in the Indus valley across the Kirthar range made Sind Babul Islam (Gate-way to Islam) for this region and brought revolutionary changes in thinking and pattern of living. The journey from polytheism to monotheism was slow and long, but once the belief in one God and in the finality of the mission of the Prophet was strengthened, the people of this land were the masters of their own destiny. Their relationship with one of the mightiest civilizations of the world made them progressive and prosperous.[9]

Spread of Islam: The Christian and the Hindu historians of modern time fabricated many unbelievable stories about the spread of Islam and the forcible conversion of the people has been a popular theme with them. The force is always a dying phenomenon and never goes deep down into the heart. The moment it ceases to exert its influence, the forced beliefs wither away. Many such examples can be cited from the annals of mankind where force had reaction contrary to

7. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-82.
8. Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.
9. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-28.

what it aimed at. Indian history is also full of several such examples. But when any belief is taken in as a burning desire out of reverence and conviction, it is always there to live.

So is the story of Islam in this land. The empires were established and wiped off ; the rulers rattled their swords and vanished ; the monuments they built to glorify themselves stand as lamenting reminders of their lost authority. But those who inspired the people to see the truth as revealed in the Quran, and served them with love and respect, still live in their hearts.

Mahmud of Ghazna : The history of the spread of Islam in the North Western regions and the Punjab started a little late. It was much later than Islam making its mark on the lives of the people living in Sind and Baluchistan. In the north it travelled through Kabul and Swat and crossed the river Indus towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, when the House of Ghazna started extending the frontiers of its kingdom in the east. Subuktagin had a few encounters with Jaipal who then ruled the Punjab and defeated him, but the result remained inconclusive until his capable son, Mahmud stormed India like a hurricane and toppled kingdoms after kingdoms. Kangra, Kanauj, Kalinjar and Somnath fell like guinea pigs. The modern Punjab and the Indus valley were permanently annexed. While Multan and Lahore were fortified and made important military and civil posts of the kingdom ; and for a short period when the weak descendents of Mahmud were pushed out of Ghaznin Lahore was made the seat of the government.[10]

Muhammad Ghouri : The invasion of Muhammad Ghauri struck a different note. He did not invade India as a military pastime, but wanted to establish his authority on a permanent footing. In his desire to couquer India he met with failures and successes, but did not stop until he achieved his objective. Mahmud came like a whirlwind that subsided with the velocity with which it came. But Muhammad Ghauri was a political tornado which when blown had blown away the old institutions and long established traditions. He paved the way for a revolution that had changed the social, moral

10. Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-111.

and political life of the people. His successor, Qutbuddin Aibak laid the foundation of an empire that lasted until the internal strife disintegrated the Muslim society and the English in the guise of a business community stole it away. The city of Delhi which ultimately played a vital role in the development and transmission of the Indo-Muslim culture was made the seat of the government.[11]

The Muslims gained in India military and political victories which helped them establish great empires. But like many great victories of the past these could have hardly survived their victors if they were not accompanied by the victories over the hearts of the conquered. Today the armed victories are long forgotten, but the victories of love that had inspired the hearts of millions of people in this part of the world, are still a living force. These victories have been won by the scholars and sufis who came to India with no other motive but to regenerate a new life in the massess in the true spirit of Islam.

There had been hundreds of sufis and learned people who had served the cause of Islam and humanity in India. Hardly would there be a geographical or administrative unit where these torch bearers of Islam did not taken the message of God to the massess. A detailed study of their contribution to the cultural development of the Muslim society in India would reveal that their influence on the social, moral and intellectual development of the people had been deeper than the laws imposed by the Muslim rulers. Thousands and thousands of people flock daily around the shrines of these saints to pay their homage, whereas the structures of rare architectural value on the tombs of mighty emperors stand deserted.

Some of the prominent Sufis who set their foot on this soil to setlle down in various parts of India and influenced the lives of the people were Shiekh Safiuddin Gazruni, Data Ganj Bakksh, Khwaja Mueenuddin Chishti, Khwaja Shiekh Bakhtiar Kaki, Khwaja Farid Ganj Shakar, Khwaja Nizamuddin Aulia, Bahauddin Zakria, Shiekh Rukn-i-Alam, Mujaddid Alf Sani, Shiekh Ahmed Sarhindi and scores of others.

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11. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-80.

Safiuddin-Gazruni : The first prominent sufi who set his foot on this soil and settled down at Uch in Bahawalpur was Shaikh Safiuddin-Gazruni. He was asked by his teacher and maternal uncle, Khawaja Abu Ishaq Gazruni to settle down at a place where his camel would take him. This he did and accordingly made Uch his home and stayed there to serve the people and spread the word of God with courage and determination. He was born in 962 A.D. and died in 1007 A.D.[12]

Data Ganj Bakksh : The second important name among the early sufis who devoted their lives and energies for Islam was Data Ganj Bakhsh Ali Bin Osman Hujveri. He was born around 1009 A.D. in Hujver, Ghaznin and died and buried at Lahore in 1072 A.D. Accompanied by his two trusted companions he came down to Lahore during the last years of the reign of Masood bin Mahmud of Ghazni.[13]

He received his education at Ghaznia and acquired sufficient knowledge about sufiism. But he was averse to the inclusion of un-Islamic practices. He professed and practised Islam in its purest form and condemned any person deviating from the Quran and Sunnah. His teachings inspired many prominent Hindus including Rai Raju who embraced Islam at his instance. Today his shrine at Lahore attracts thousands of devotees who adore and respect him.[14]

He was the author of many books—including his *Kashaful Mahjoob* (كشف المحجوب), *Kashaful Asrar* (كشف الاسرار) and *Albianul Ahlul Ayan* (البيان الاہل لعیان) which are well known and respected in knowledgeable circles. Of these *Kashaful Mahjoob* has been translated into many languages.[15]

Khwaja Meenuddin Chishti Ajmeri : He was born in Sijistan in 1138 A.D. and died at the age of 97 years at Ajmer in 1235 A.D. Little is known about his early career. But his biographical records show that he was educated in Khurasan, Samarqand and possibly various other places. He stayed for some time with Sheikh Abdul Qadir Gilani, Sheikh Shahabuddin Suharwardi and came in contact with many of the prominent saints of his time.[16]

He was one of the early preachers of Islam who had left his mark on the Indian people. He found the Hindus worshipping stones,

12. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83.
13. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-92.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*; pp. 220-43.

rocks, trees, animals, particularly the cow and the cowdung. He studied their religion, customs and traditions and worked his way through to teach them the belief in one God. It was very difficult to work among the hostile people, but his patience, piety, kindness and hard work had ultimately won him many adherents.[17]

Khwaja Mueenuddin who is also known as Khwaja -i- Buzurg influenced and trained many prominent sufis of his time. Among his highly respected disciples are included the names of sufi Hameeduddin Nagori, Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki and Sheikh-e-Kabir Baba Fareeduddin Ganj Shakar who carried on his mission with great vigour and success. His influence on the Indian people through the Nizamia and Sabirya branches of the Chishtia order is wide spread.[18]

Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki : He was born in the Central Asia at Ush in Turkistan. He received his education at various centres of learning in the central Asia and then moved to Baghdad where he entered into the circles of the disciples of Khwaja Mueenuddin. When Khwaja Mueenuddin migrated to Ajmer, Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaki also followed him. He wanted to stay at Ajmer, but Khwaja-i-Buzurg instructed him to settle down at Delhi. Following his instructions he stayed in Delhi throughout his life and devoted his energies to uphold the glory of Islam and serve the cause of common man. He died in 1235 A.D. and was buried in Delhi. His mazar still attracts thousands of devotees everyday.[19]

Sultan Iltutmish had a great respect for him. He offered to him the highly respected position of "Sheikhul Islam", but he refused. It is said that the Qutub Minar which was completed during the reign of Iltutmish was named after this saint as a mark of respect and devotion. Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaki who served the people with love and care had a great influence on their social life. His spiritualism attracted the rulers and the populace alike. He had a number of distinguished disciples including Qazi Hameeduddin Nagori, Sheikh Badruddin Ghaznavi and Baba Fareeduddin Ganj Shakar who succeded him to carry on the mission.[20]

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17. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-35.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 239-44.
20. *Ibid.*

Baba Fareeduddin Ganj Shakar : Among the devoted disciples of Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaki was Baba Fareeduddin Ganj Shakar whom he appointed his successor during his lifetime. Baba Fareeduddin Ganj Shakar had the unique distinction of benefiting from his direct contacts with the Khawja-i-Buzurg who predicted a great career for him. He was born near Multan and completed his education at Multan and Qandhar and then entered into the circle of the disciples of Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaki He stayed for some time at Hansi and after the death of his teacher and guide finally made Pakpattan his permanent home. He preached Islam with great vigour and brought several Hindu tribes under its fold. It was through his efforts that the Siyal Rajputs and the Watoo clan embraced Islam. He wielded great influence over the masses and had never looked towards gaining power, authority or wealth. His unworldliness and high spiritualism attracted the rulers of his time who had always shown great respect for him.[21]

Khawaja Fareed had inspired and trained a number of disciples to carry on his mission. The most prominent among them were Nizamuddin Aulia, Alauddin Sabir, Jammal Hanswi, Inamul Haq Sialkoti who devoted their entire life in the service of Islam and humanity. Compared with great saints in terms of their achievements Baba Fareed won the greatest success.[22]

Nizamuddin Aulia : Syed Muhammad Nizamuddin Aulia commonly known as Sultan-ul-Mashaikh was born at Budaun in 1238 A.D. , three years after the death of Kwaja Mueenduddin Chishti and breathed his last at Delhi in 1325 A.D. at the age of 87 years. His shrine in Delhi attracts several thousands of devotees from all parts of Bharat, Pakistan and Bangla Desh.[23]

He was educated at Budaun and Delhi which later on became his permanent home. When he was twelve years old he developed a great love and reverence for Baba Fareeduddin Ganj Shakar. In 1257 A.D. he went to Ajodhan (Pakpattan) and met Baba Fareed. He was forthwith included in the circle of his eminent disciples and was made Khalifa four years later. During his early career as a sufi he passed

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21. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 244 55. 22. *Ibid.* 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-86.

through difficult times, but when Ziauddin Imadulmulk constructed a beautiful khanqah for him where he spent the rest of his life in revitalizing Islam and helping the people at large, he secured a foothold to embark upon his mission. He was by far the most influencial sufi of his time. He devoted his entire energy and time in purifying the lives of the Muslims. Although some of the rulers of Delhi for one reason or the other developed a dislike for him it is evident from the records that they had to give finally. Generally the rulers of the land respected him, but no one had been able to induce him to come to his court. He had no other concern in life but Islam and the wellbeing of the Muslims. Amir Khusru, the great Persian Poet, Amir Hasan Sanjari, Sheikh Burhanuddin "Gharib", Sheikh Husamuddin Multani, Sheikh Kamaluddin, Sheikh Yaqub Patni, Sheikh Sharfuddin Yahya, Sheikh Sirajuddin "Osman" and Sheikh Charagh-i-Delhi were his close and devoted disciples. Hasan Sanjari compiled his sayings—*Mulfuzat*—under the title of Fawaidul-Fawad.[24]

Makhdoom Nasiruddin Mahmood Charagh-i-Delhi succeded Sultan-ul-Mashaikh to carry on the mission. He worked hard under difficult circumstances and willingly bore the atrocities of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. He is particularly known for his propagation of learning. He died in 1356 A.D. and was buried in the mausoleum constructed by Feroz Tughlaq during his lifetime.[25]

Bahauddin Zakriya : During the pre-Mughal period Multan was a great centre of learning. The grand parents of Sheikh Zakriya migrated to India and settled down near Multan. It was here that in 1182 A.D. Sheikh Zakriya was born. He received his education in Multan, Khurasan, Bukhara, Madina and Baghdad. In Madina he studied with Sheikh Kamal Yamani and in Baghdad became a disciple of Sheikh Shahabuddin Suharvardi who asked him to go back to Multan to serve the people.[26]

In Multan he worked hard and soon achieved a great name in piety and righteousness. It was due to his efforts that the non-Muslims residing in these regions embraced Islam. He also took keen interest

24. *Ibid.*
25. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-86.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-301.

in the public utility work by helping the promotion of agriculture, trade and the digging of wells and canals.[27]

He had a great influence over the masses and had close contacts with scholars of his time. His relations with Baba Farid were cordial and helpful. But he was a fearless person. When he raised his voice against the tyranny of Qabocha he did not hide his feelings. His supreme interest was not his self, but the welfare of his people.[28]

He had many disciples who carried on his mission successfully. Among them most prominent were his son Sheikh Sadruddin Arif and grandson Sheikh Rukunuddin, Sayed Jalal Bukhari, Lal Shahbaz Qalander, Iraqi, and Amir Hussaini. He died at Multan in 1264 A.D. and was buried in the Multan fort.[29]

Sheikh Rukunuddin: His grandson Sheikh Rukunuddin Abul Fateh who was also his disciple earned a great name in piety, kindness and generosity. In the true traditions of the family he worked for the well being of the people and devoted his entire life in the service of Islam. He had very good relations with Kh. Nizamuddin Aulia and with other great sufis of his time. When Nizamuddin Aulia died he was in Delhi and led his funeral prayers.[30]

The Sultans of Delhi had a great respect for him, but he always used his influence for the good of the people. The Sultans presented to him purses of lakhs of rupees, but he would not keep anything for himself. When he died at Multan in 1334 Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq presented for his burial the domed structure built originally for the burial of his father. That dome still stands high in the fort close to the shrine of his grandfather. Thousands of devotees from Sind, Baluchistan and other areas come to pay their homage day in and day out.[31]

Lal Shahbaz Qalander : One of the celebrated disciples of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakriya was Makhdoom Lal Shahbaz Qalander who selected Sind as the venue of his spiritual activities. His shrine at Sehwan is the centre of attraction and during his Urs wears a colourful look.[32]

27. *Ibid.* 28. *Ibid.* 29. *Ibid.* 30. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-08.
31. *Ibid.* 32. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-33.

His real name was Sheikh Osman and was the thirteenth descendent of Imam Jafar Sadiq. He was born at Marand near Tabriz where he received his early elucation, and then according to the established traditions of the time took to travels in search of knowledge and came in contact with several men of learning and sufis. He stayed with Baba Ibrahim for one year and then came to India and entered the circle of the disciples of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakriya who groomed him to work for the glory of Islam. Khan-i-Shaheed, the son of Balban was among his notable admirers. He wanted him to stay in Multan, but since he was destined to play a significant role in the life of the people of Sind he did not accept the suggestion. He spent the rest of his life in Sind and devoted himself to the service of the people. Shahbaz was the title given by his guide. Since he used to wear red garments he was known as Lal Shahbaz.[33]

These are only a few names from amongst the hundreds of scholars who were great spiritual leaders of their time, made sacrifices and worked under very difficult circumstances. They were, indeed, greatmen who had perfomed great deeds. The spread of Islam and induction of the lives of the Muslims to the pure and simple ideals of Islam is the glory they achieved and this is a glory greater than the achievement of any political or economic glory.

33. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MUSLIM RULES

Delhi Sultanate : The Muslim conquest of India and the setting up of an administrative machinery at Delhi in 1196 A.D. were new experiments in a new environment. The sultans of Delhi were absolute monarchs who ruled their kingdom without obtaining any authentication from the caliph of Baghdad. There were two reasons for this break away. The caliphate had lost its vigour and vitality and with the sack of Baghdad in 1258 A.D. at the hands of Hulagu Khan the formal allegiance of the Muslim sultans automatically ceased. The second important factor for an independent existence was the result of the first. The sultans of Delhi did not owe their authority to the caliph in any way. They were autocratic and independent rulers, wielding supreme power over the administration as the chief law giver and the final court of appeal.[1]

Administration : It is, however, disheartening to note that whereas Islam is essentially constitutional and democratic in character and does not recognize any autocratic or dynastic rule, the medieval Muslim rulers fell a victim to the general characteristic of the age. It seems the democratic principles of Islam were ahead of time and had yet to formulate their impact on the political thought of mankind. But there was one big difference. The medieval autocracy in other parts of the world did not recognize any other authority except the authority of its own power, but the powers of the sultan were largely controlled by the injunctions of the holy Quran and Sunnah.

In the administration of justice and the maintenance of the executive authority of the Government the main spring of guidance

1. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

was Quran which distinguished their autocratic rule from the contemporary rulers.[2]

Among the Sultans of Delhi Alauddin Khilji the only ruler who was considered to have a little less regard for the laws of Shariah and would rather have his own way to solve the complicated military, political and economic problems. But if a deep study of his state policy is made even his freedom of choice was restricted to the social and political experiences he had in a basically Islamic environment. Inherently he was a Muslim and always acted in the best interest of the state.[3]

The sultans of Delhi were the chief executives of the state and had the supreme and sole authority of making peace or war. He carried out the administration with the help of the ministers and officers, mostly drawn from the Turkish bureaucracy of the time. But capable persons from other classes like Malik Kafur were not barred to achieve prominence or rise to high positions in the civil administration and the armed forces.[4]

Inner Council (مجلس خلوت) : The sultans had an inner council for purposes of consultation on important issues. Only the trusted friends and the highly placed officers of the Government were made members. The discussions in the council were free, but the advice was not binding on the sultan. The council could only help him see the course of events clearly to formulate his own opinion. The sultan received his courtiers in the special audience (دربار خاص) and sat as the supreme judge in the public audience (دربار عام).[5]

Ministers and Officers : The state administration was run with the help of the wazir who had an over all control on the heads of the departments appointed to carry on the orders of the sultan faithfully. In the beginning the departments were few in number, but in the course of time their number increased. There were as many as 20 ministries and major departments functioning at one time or the other.[6]

Some of the important departments were known as :

Diwan-i-Risalat	(ديوان رسالت)	Department of Appeals
Diwan-i-Arz	(ديوان ارض)	Military Department

2, Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-131.
3. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp, 156-86.
4. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-96.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*

Diwan-i-Insha	(دیوان انشا)	Correspondence Department
Diwan-i-Bandagan	(دیوان بندگان)	Department of Slaves
Diwan-i-Qazae Mamalik	(دیوان قضائے ممالک)	Department of Justice, Intelligence and Posts
Diwan-i-Amir Kohi	(دیوان امیر کوہی)	Department of Agriculture
Diwan-i-Mustakhraj	(دیوان مستخرج)	Department of Realization
Diwan-i-Khairat	(دیوان خیرات)	Charity Department
Diwan-i-Istehqaq	(دیوان استحقاق)	Department of Pensions

Some of the important officers were designated as :

Mustaaufi-Mamalik	(مستوفی الممالک)	Auditor General
Mushrif-ul-Mamalik	(مشرف الممالک)	Accountant General
Majmudar	(مجموع دار)	Keeper of the Records
Khazin	(خازن)	Treasurer
Amir-i-Behr	(امیر بحر)	Controller of Boats
Bakhhis-i-Fauj	(بخشی فوج)	Paymasters of the Forces
Qaziul Quzzat	(قاضی القضاۃ)	Lord Chief Justice
Kotwal	(کوتوال)	Custodian of Peace
Muhtasib	(محتسب)	Municipal Officer responsible for keeping a watch over the conduct of the people.

The principal sources of revenue were the taxes from the jagirdar landlords, crown land, grantee of the land and spoils of war, trade and commerce, house and water, and grazing grounds. The rate of taxation varied from time to time. Necessary changes were effected as and when required. It went up as high as 50% of the gross product during the reign of Alauddin. The financial policy of the sultans was generally based on the Hanafi jurisprudence (فقہ حنفی).[7]

A R M Y : The standing army under the direct control of the sultans was small. It comprised the royal body guard and the troops stationed in the capital. Whenever the sultan stood in need of any army for an expedition or for putting down a rebellion, he would get the necessary re-inforcement from the provincial viceroys and governors. The army so constituted recruited men from different sections of

7. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-95.

the society including the Turks, Khatais, Iranians and Indians. The army was divided into infantry, cavalry, elephants and artillery.[8]

The art of warfare during the period was not so scientific and sophisticated from the modern standards, but compared with the contemporary world it was highly advanced.

Provincial Administration : The naib-e-sultanat (نائب السلطنت) was the viceroy of the sultan in the province to carry on the functions of the administration on his behalf. He enjoyed almost absolute executive, judicial and military powers in the province under the pleasure of the sultan.[9]

Economic and Social Life : Although complete account of the social and economic life of the people are not generally available, the historical records, the writings of the sufis and references in poetical compositions throw sufficient light on the general standard of living. The life in general did not basically differ from the pattern of life we find in the villages and towns today. There were rich people who had wealth and lived in luxury ; and there were poor people who passed their days and nights in poverty. But since in those days their needs were few and could be locally met the people in general were satisfied and were not much concerned with the political changes in the country.[10]

Agriculture was the chief profession, but other occupations like trade and commerce and industry were equally important. The trades that thrived during the sultanat included cotton and woollen textile, calico painting, sugar manufacturing, metal work, stone and brick work, paper manufacturing, arms, utencils and many others. At one time in the royal textile mills at Delhi as many as 4,000 weavers were employed. The country had trade relations with the Central Asia, Middle East and the Far East.[11]

One of the earliest attempts of economic reforms through price control was made by Alauddin Khalji and a monetary refrom

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8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-208.
11. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-99,

was introduced by Muhammad Tughlaq. Both these attempts were aimed at making the country prosperous and happy.

Alauddin kept in mind the well being of the common man in general. The significant reforms which did not only make a departure from the past practice during the early sultans, but also fore stalled a new economic look for the future, can be enumerated as under :[12]

(1) Availability of grain and other articles of economic needs at a cheap rate without being affected by draught.
(2) Extraordinary and continued conquests—establishment of stability.
(3) The Mongols repulsed.
(4) Exbuerance of dignity and good living for the less wealthy.
(5) Wreath in the proud and the oppresser while many and benevolence for the poor.
(6) Peace in the country and the highways.
(7) The business community and the tradesmen to abide by the state law in selling at cheap rates.
(8) New buildings like mosques, sarais and forts.
(9) The general toning up of the public morale.
(10) Patronage of leaving and learned people.

People enjoyed freedom in their routine life and there was almost no interference from the state. The Hindus were free to follow their own religion and culture and the state guaranteed them full protection. Crimes were few, the use of liquor was limited and social evils were negligibly low.[13]

Education : The establishment of a strong Muslim state in India induced a large number of Muslims from other parts of the Muslim world to settle down in India. The new settlers brought with them the rich traditions of their religion, education, art and architecture which made a good impact on the social life of the Indian people. The masjids, the maktabs and the madrissas as the centres of social and intellectual life played a significant role in building up a new civilization. The new educational institutions where arrangement for

12. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.
13. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-403.

the study of all the known sciences were adequately made, served tha Muslim and Hindus alike All the sultans who reigned the country took keen interest in the promotion of learning, but Feroz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodhi were the most distinguished patrons of learning.[14]

The Madrissai Muizzliya, the Madrissai Nasiriya and the Madrissai Firoz Shahi in Delhi were big residential institutions. The Madrissai Feroz Shahi provided facilities for the study of the academic as well as technical subjects. Firoz Shah was fond of keeping thousands of slaves. He would give them good education and training and free them as required by the Quran and Sunnah. The need to give them practical education led him to introduce technical and vocational studies at the Madrissa. In addition to the academic knowledge the curriculum also provided for special training in weaving, wood work, metal work, calligraphy, book binding and in many other vocations. It was indeed a very early experiment of its kind in technical education. Had it been continued the history of this country would have been different.[15]

During the reign of the sultans of Delhi a large number of scholars, poets, writters and historians settled at Delhi and made considerable contribution to the promotion of knowledge. The list is very large but prominent among them were Minhaj Siraj, Hasan Nishapuri, Fakhruddin, Shams Siraj Arif, Hassan Dehlawi, Amir Khusrau and many others.[16]

Art and Architechture : The development of the art and architecture during this period is by no means less excellent than the achievements in other fields. The Qutub Minar, Masjid-i-Quwwatul Islam, Alai Darwaza, Atala Masjid, Adina Masjid, tombs of various kings, the dome in the mausoleum of Shah Rukn-e-Alam (Multan) speak of their beauty and grandeur.[17]

Impacts of Islam on the Hindus and their Social Life : Since the Hindu society was living in isolation for several thousand years under a tight Brahminic control, it had lost its vigour and vitality. Bottled in their own customs and rituals the Hindus were politically divided

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14. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-208. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-10.
15. Law, N.N, Education under Muhammadan Rulers of India.
16. Ikram, *op. cit.* 17. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-22.

and militarily weak. This naturally resulted in a major shake up by the Muslims who were strong and better equipped. Islam as the most powerful movement to bring mankind into one brotherhood, free from exploitation and corruption, had at that time a firm moral, intellectual and political control over the civilized world.[18]

The Muslim conquest of India brought the Hindus in contact with a different kind of social order. As a conquered people the Hindus had put up a strong fight against the influence of Islam, which was not unnatural. A society basically polytheist and muffled in man-made division of castes and sub-castes was offended, and cornered to react violently. But when it was realized that the absorption of the Muslims into the Hindu social order was not possible, the attempts of absoprtion took the form of an internal resistance. The Brahmins tightened the moral and social grip built around the caste system and reduced the Muslim rulers and populace to social outcasts.

But in spite of the open hostility and secret resistence Islam exerted its influence on the social and moral life of the Hindus.

The concept of freedom of thought and expressions, respect for human dignity, universal brotherhood and equality of opportunity has all their impact on the Hindu culture. The use of Persian as the language of administration also helped the cultural conversion of Hindus and the development of a common language. The inhuman burning of woman with the dead body of her husband was discouraged and it was under very hard circumstances that permission to the performance of sati was given. Unlike the Hindu religion the reward and punishment in Islam does not depend on the birth but on the good or bad deeds of an individual. The influence of the new ideas struck the Hindu philosophy of life at its very root and many among them started thinking about the man made bondage Brahmanism.[19]

Many Hindu thinkers and revivalists studied the situation patiently and started synthesizing some of the elements of the Muslim culture with the Hindu traditions. The leaders of the Bhakti movement were particularly attracted by the concept of universal

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18. Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on India.
19. Ikram, *op, cit.*, pp. 529-31. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-07.

brotherhood and equality of man. Among the Bhakti leaders Ramanand of Allahabad occupied a prominent place. Chaitanya was another big name in the history of the Hindu revivalism. He preached that love and devotion and song and dance could bring the devotee close to God. He was opposed to formal Hinduism and its rituals.[20]

Kabir who flourished during the later period of the sultanate founded a cult of his own. It is commonly known as Kabir Panthi. He made an earnest effort to bring in harmony the teachings of Islam and the rituals of Hinduism. He was greatly influenced by the sufis and preached love for all irrespective of his caste and creed, and placed the freedom of soul above everything. This, he believed, could be acheived through sincerity, honesty and love.[21]

Almost to the same period belongs Guru Nanak who was the founder of the Sikh religion. He preached monotheistic doctrine, universal toleration and all that he thought good in Islam and Hinduism. But during the course of time the Sikhs deviated from the teachings of Nanak and developed into a militant unit of the Hindu revivalism in a different form. However, the sikhs are keeping their identity and have not been completely absorbed by the Hindu society.[22]

According to the laws of Manu the Shudras are condemned to lead a semi-animal stage of life and are never to acheive salvation (nirvana). Even in the modern times which is acclaimed to be a period of freedom and democracy millions of people are destined to live the kind of life Manu had long ago assigned them. Efforts to take them out of the sad plight were made from time to time. The Arya Samaj, the Brahmu Samaj and the Sangthan movements were similar attempts to unifying the lower sections of the Hindu society with the upper classes ; but since these were political moves, they failed to concede any departure from the basic principles of Hinduism. In the modern times one of the chief aims of the Gandhian philosophy was also to make a political fusion of the Shudras into the Hindu society for a greater Hindu political order. His diplomatic Caste and the Shudra temple was an effort to bring them nearer to his objective, but it failed to bring the desired result ; and the Shudras stand where they stood thousands of years ago. Even the democratic constitution

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20. *Ibid.* 21. *Ibid.* 22. *Ibid.*

of India has not been able to provide any practical safeguards. But contrary to this Islam still has the potentiality to bring them together in a universal brotherhood of mankind.

The service on the humanitarian score, which could have been rendered to these oppressed people during the Muslim rule in India has been completely lost, but still there are opportunities and signs of hope. Are we earnestly prepared to follow the principles of Islamic brotherhood to remedy the wrongs done to the afflicted people in the world ? This is the time's clarion call, but time does not wait for any one : hold it up or lose it for ever.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT MUGHALS

Background : In 1526 A.D. Babur invaded India and defeated Ibrahim Lodhi in the first battle of Panipat. This marked the end and the beginning of a new period of Muslim history in India. The new Turkish wave in the form of the Mughals that came to India proved to be more enduring than the earlier dynasties grouped under the sultans of Delhi. The history of the Mughal empire and its rise and fall is a fascinating study. They ruled over the destiny of the Indian people as the supreme power for about 181 years and then staggeringly for an other 151 years. They rose as a big power on the horizon in 1526 A.D. and completely vanished in 1858 A.D., when the titular Bahadur Shah Zafar was banished to Rangoon by the British rulers of India. During these 332 years the Mughal rule had seen many ups and downs from a highly organized prosperous state with intelligent and wise leadership to the weak and humiliating rule of the later Mughals who lived at the mercy of the powerful military adventurers of the time.

The Mughal period can be divided into two parts. The first part covers the establishment of the empire by its founder, Zaheerud-din Babur in 1526 A.D. and the death of his illustrious fifth descendant, Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1707 A.D. The second period starts with the coming into power of Bahadur Shah I and closes down with the deposition and banishment of Bahadur Shah Zafar in 1858

A.D. The first period tells us the story of a vigorous intellectual, political and military leadership that made India of that time one of the most prosperous states of the world. Whereas the second period which had seen the rule of as many as fifteen poor and weak emperors, gives a sad narration of the humiliating and disgraceful episodes.

In medieval period the world history knows only autocratic rule. So was true of the Muslim rules throughout the world. The democratic approach to the solution of human problems as taught by Islam was long forgotten and since the days of Amir Muawyia the democratic institutions were set aside to give way to the dynastic rule of the individual families The Turkish rulers in various regions of the world were the typical example of an autocratic system of administration. Nowhere in the world did they develop any good system of succession. In India and particularly during the Mughal period it was always left to the sword to decide.

The first six rulers of the Mughal dynasty were made of hard stuff and were masters of their own destiny. Except for a few years of the interrupted rule of Humayun his successors had been able to build up a magnificent empire. The Mughals were the descendants of Timur and like most of the sultans of Delhi came from the Central Asia. Timur was a great conquerer of his time. He invaded India in 1398 A.D. destroyed, plundered and killed thousands of innocent civilians of Delhi and when satisfied with his killings and spoils he withdrew to Samarqand and un-knowingly left the task of building an empire to one of his descendants.

Babur entered Delhi in 1526 A.D exactly after 128 yeas of the Timurid massacre and set up his dynastic rule. But there were no killings and no acts of plundering. He restored order and stability to the government and marched on to Khanwah near Fatehpur Sikri to meet the combined Rajput forces under Rana Sanga. He routed them out in 1527 A.D., conquered Chanderi in 1528 A.D., and inflicted a final defeat on the Afghan nobles in the battle of Ghaghra in 1529 A.D. India now lay on his feet and there was no challenge left to dispute his authority.[1]

1. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-32.

Of all the kings in the dynasty Babur showed the typical Turkish characteristics. He was an intelligent and clever statesman and military genius. He earned prominence under hard circumstances, as a fugitive from Farghana, living in obscurity to establishing himself in Kabul and from Kabul to his triumphant entry into Delhi. According to one estimate if the guns of Babur were turned to Europe instead of India they could not have been stopped until they reached the British Isles. He possessed an artillery and skill in the art of warfare that no other contemporary ruler in the world could claim to have possessed. He laid the foundation of a great empire, but did not get sufficient time to consolidate it. He died at Agra in 1530 A.D. only after four years of his first major victory.[2]

Babur was one of the most interesting rulers in the history of India. He was a skilful general, but was no ruthless conqueror. He subdued a vast territory, but did not destroy the people and property. He was an affectionate father, a kind master, a generous friend, a firm believer in God, a passionate lover of nature and truth and fond of music and other arts.[3]

Engaged in military campaigns throughout his life Babur had little time to devote himself to any other pursuits, but he possessed in him a spirit of adventure and restlessness. At the same time he commanded the army, administered his kingdom and wrote his beautiful "Memoirs" (Tuzuk-i-Baburi) which contains a variety of subjects from his early adventures to his conquest of India including the people and their chief characteristics, the land and the climate, agricultural products, fruits and an account of the animal world. Babur wrote his "Memoirs" in Turkish, which was translated by Khan-i-Khanan into Persian. The style is simple, plain, clear and frank.[4]

Humayun : Babur was succeeded by Humayun who inherited an empire which was not yet firmly established. He set on his career of empire building with courage and patience and achieved a few victories that could have made him the master of the situation. But unfortunately he was attacked by the external enemies and sabotaged

2. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-32. 3. *Ibid.* 4. *Ibid.*

by the internal forces, particularly by his brothers for whom he had great regard. Humayun had to face a formidable enemy in Sher Shah who had mustered support of the Afghan nobles and finally defeated Humayun in 1540 A.D. only ten years after the death of Babur. The disaster could equally be shared by the indifference of his brothers, the demoralized army and the poor planning.[5]

Humayun had no alternative but to flee. He crossed the Rajputana desert with a small band of loyal soldiers and reached Umerkot, but when the Hindu chief Rana Parsad withdrew his support to help him reconquer Thatta and Bhakkar, he was completety disappointed and threw himself on to Shah Tahmasp Safvi of Iran, who promised to provide him the necessary help. But he waited on until things appeared favourable to him. In 1555 A. D. he set for India at the head of an army of 14,000 and reconquered his lost kingdom. Sher Shah was dead and it was not difficult for him to re establish his authority. But he did not live long. He fell down from the stairs of his library and died in 1556 A D.[6]

Humayun was one of those rulers of India who had been both tolerant and benevolent, but in turn met with disobedience, rebellion and opposition. His moral excellence and broad-mindedness brought him difficult times, but he could not sacrifice them for his own comfort. This caused a great confusion in his newly established empire which he faced patiently but very boldly.[7]

Humayun was bold and valiant. His part in the battles of Panipat and Khanwah was significant. He was intelligent and had a fairly good knowledge of the art of government. But he was too soft and too kind to take a bold decision in time. He lacked the firmness and grandeur of Babur and had seldom shown the military skill which he had displayed. He faced difficulties, but never faltered. He remained calm and firm in adversity and never lost his sense of judgment.[8]

Humayun was himself a scholar and loved scholarship. He was mainly interested in the study of astronomy, but was equally interest-

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5. *Ibid.*
6. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 432-46.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*

ed in language and literature. His devotion to the persuit of learning is confirmed by fact that his death occurred in the library.[9]

Sher Shah Suri : Sher Shah ruled India only for five years, but left his permanent mark on the history of his time. He demonstrated his military skill by driving out Humayun and re-establishing the Afghan supremacy. But more than that his reforms in the civil and military administration, land and revenue system, public works, education, road building and construction of caravansarais on the highways earned him an enviable place in history. He is credited to have built many madrissas, the Grand Trunk Road from Sunar Gaon to Attock, and another road from Agra to Burhanpur besides several forts for the defence of his territory. The Ruhtas fort in the Jhelum district. which he built to check any possible invasion from the west, still reminds the great military talent he possessed.[10]

Sher Shah came to power in 1540 A.D. and died in 1545 A.D. It did not give him sufficient time to consolidate his power and with his death vanished the glory he brought to the Sur dynasty ; and the political confusion that followed his death cleared the way to have an easy march on Delhi.[11]

Akbar : Akbar was born in 1542 A.D. at Umerkot (Sind) when his father Humayun was wandering from one place to another in search of help and shelter, fate had thrown him into the hands of his uncle Kamran who did not care for his proper education. It was after the return of Humayun to power that he was put under the tutorship of Bairam Khan who was a trusted courtier of Hamayun, for education and training in the art of administration and warfare. But hardly had a year passed when Humayun died and Akbar was proclaimed king at Kalanaur (Gurdaspur, India) in 1556 A D. This left him with little choice. The new responsibilities took him away from the pursuit of formal learning, but his career as a great statesman shows that he remained a student all his life.[12]

Akbar was a fearless soldier and shrewd statesman. He showed courage and steadfastness in most difficult situations. When Himu

9. *Ibid.*
10. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-46,
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 445-48.

advanced with Salim Shah Sur to Panipat to drive him out immediately after the death of his father, he fought gallantly against them in the second battle of Panipat. This proved to be a decisive battle which gave its verdict in favour of the young Mughal ruler. Himu was killed and his army was completely routed out. Akbar triumphed to put an end to the political confusion that prevailed in the country. Throughout his rule he had very cleverly employed his diplomacy and military skill with an equal sharpness of mind. He organised and launched his military expeditions to establish his authority, but he did not show any sign of ruthlessness or tyranny. He was always considerate and benevolent.[13]

Akbar was a wise and enlightened ruler. He had a commanding personality and was a master statesman with his own philosophy of government. Building up an empire in an alien environment was not simple, but he had been able to make it up. He developed diplomatic ties with the influential Hindu rajas and entered with them into matrimonial alliances. He himself married the daughter of Raja Bharamal Kachchwha (راجہ بھارامل کچھوا ہا) and adopted some of the Hindu customs, and that way succeeded in winning over many friends. But where his diplomacy failed he employed force to establish his authority. His wrath on Chittor made Rana Partap who is now being idolised by the Hindus, flee and live in obscurity to wage occasional guerilla warfare.[14]

In his bid to secure political stability he established Ibadat Khana to serve as a forum for discussion. It was the result of these discussions that he is said to have laid the foundation of Deen-i-Ilahi which won but few adherents and with his death died its natural death. But these deviations in religion made the things complicated. The un-Islamic tendencies which found currency and encouragement during his reign had an adverse effect on the development of the Muslim society. Many Muslim thinkers of the time including Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani (مجدد الف ثانی) sensed the danger and worked hard to correct the situation.[15]

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13. *Ibid.*
14. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-48.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 448-62,

The political conditions in which Akbar was brought up did not give him an opportunity to get any formal education. But his anxiety and capacity to learn was great. Attached to his court were many of the prominent scholars of his time. He patronised them and helped them in their search of knowledge and tried to derive the maximum benefit from their scholarship. Many scholars migrating from Iran and other parts of the Muslim world found in him a great patron of learning poets, engineers, physicians, painters, architects, musicians, calligraphists and people of many shades of opinion and came as adventurers and fortune seekers, but would never go back to the towns of their origin. Prominent among those who was attached to his court were the Nagori brothers Faizi and Abul Fazal, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Abdul Qadir Budauni, Urfi, Fathullah Shirazi, Hakim Ali Gilani, Hakim Abul Fath Gilani and many others.[16]

He had innovated many ways of acquiring knowledge. He participated in the discussion of the learned people and got books read to him. He had a sharp memory that enabled him to grasp what he picked up from the discussions or reading. This made him a true seeker of knowledge. Abul Fazal in his writings credits him to have experimented in new methods of teaching the beginners.[17]

Akbar was a delightfully cultured person. He was polite and polished in his behaviour. His participation in the discussion of the policy matters was lively and energising. He showed not only a knowledge of the problem under discussion, but contributed substantially to keep the discussion moving or to bring it to a conclusive end.[18]

He was an affectionate father and a loving family man. In spite of his efforts to popularise his Deen-i-Ilahi he was devoted to the sufis of the chistia order. His respect for Sheikh Salim Chishti whose shrine he built at Fathpur Sikri was very deep. He once went on foot to visit the shrine of Khawaja Moeenuddin Chishti.[19]

Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani : In his policy of appeasement of the Hindus Akbar went out of his way. Sometimes he would pass orders

16. *Ibid.*
17. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-601.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 448-62.
19. Ikram, *op. cit.*,

that would have an adverse effect on the Muslims. But in the interest of his diplomacy he considered it expedient. Generally it was felt that Islam was being corrupted and the Islamic traditions were subordinated to the Hindu social order and the Brahminic law. Sometimes the Muslims were subjected to humiliation and unbelievable atrocities. These conditions agitated the mind of the Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani, Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi who was well educated, well groomed and highly sensitive. A lineal descendent of Hazrat Umer Farooq he was born in 1564 A.D. and died in 1624 A.D.[20]

As a learned scholar of his time he took upon himself the responsibility of revitalizing the spirit of Islam which had been corrupted by the official policy of Akbar. He wrote and preached. This aroused alarm in the official circle and some of his opponents conspired against him. Jahangir imprisoned him in the fort of Gawalior, but after sometime when the misunderstanding was cleared, he was released.[21]

All his life he worked for the regeneration of Islam and organized the Naqshbandiya Mujaddidiya (نقش بندیہ مجددیہ) order for eradicating the evils that had taken root in the society preserving the laws of Shariah and spreading Islam among the masses. He was an excellent writer, an eloquent speaker and a scholar of high repute. He was clear in his thinking, fearless, and forceful and empolyed all his faculties in the service of his cause. His was, indeed a great name in the annals of Islam, that stood like a rock against the imperial opposition and succeeded in restoring the glory that was being lost.[22]

Jahangir : The historian have given many shades and colours to the personality of Jahangir. But in reality he was what he portrayed himself in his memoirs. He was frank in expressing anything about himself and was intelligent and farsighted. He possessed the political wisdom that helped him resolve many complicated problems ; and over and above these qualities he was a generous and benevolent ruler. He was also a kind father, a loving husband and a benefactor to his kinsmen.[23]

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20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-70.

Jahangir kept up the dignity and grandeur of his father and did not deviate from his military administrative and financial policies. He knew how to guard the interest of his empire and although he did not add anything new ; rather sometimes his negligence made things difficult, he was so firm in decision making that once he had taken a decision no one could alter it [24]

The presence of many outstanding scholars in the court of Akbar provided a healthy environment for the young Jahangir (then known as Salim after Sheikh Salim Chishti) to learn many things which he would not have acquired under ordinary circumstances. The formal education that he received helped him derive the maximum benefit from the scholarly environment of the court.[25]

Jahangir is well known for his justice. He was humane and considerate and tried to uphold the cause of the poor and suppress tyranny in any form and at any place. He got fixed up the chain of justice between Sha burj in his fort and a stone on the bank of the river Jumna for any complaint against his own administration, and would firmly deal with the evil doers and conspirators.[26]

Being himself a scholar of repute Jahangir patronized learning. Many prominent learned men of his time were attached to his court and yet several others were engaged in scholarly pursuits at various institutions of learning. He was second Mughal emperor who wrote his own memoirs, commonly known as *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* which is considered to be a straight account of his rule. In his writings he developed a style which is clear, simple and direct.[27]

His later life is shrouded with mystery. The increased consumption of liquor weakened his physical and mental energy. Nur Jahan and her brother, Asaf Jah had become more powerful and pulled the strings of the administration to their advantage. On the contrary Jahangir tried to keep the interest of the country and the people supreme ; but for his indulgence in wine that crippled his health, he could have earned a very prominent place in the history of India.[28]

24. *Ibid.* 25. *Ibid.* 26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.* 28. *Ibid.*

Jahangir was survived by his two sons Khurram (Shah Jahan) and Shahryar. Khurram was the son-in-law of Asaf Jah and Shehryar was married to the daughter of Nur Jahan and Sher Afgan.[29]

Shah Jahan : After the death of Jahangir Khurram (Shah Jahan) had proclaimed himself the emperor of India under the cover of a prior understanding between himself and Asaf Jah who had successfully outmanoevered Nur Jahan, Shahryar and Dawar Bakhsh (son of Khurram).[30]

Shah Jahan managed to remove all the claimants from the field and the descendents of Akbar and Jahangir were mercilessly killed on the apprehensian that any one of them might put up his claim to kingship.[31] It is interesting to note that Shah Jahan met a similar fate towards the close of his career, when his two sons were killed in a similar combat and he was himself deposed to suffer a life confinement in the Fort of Agra Shah Jahan ruled over the Mughal empire for 22 years and made a name in history, for his contribution to art and architecture and economic prosperity. He was a valiant general and a capable statesman. His reign was considered to be the golden period of the Mughal rule in India when the glory of the empire reached its zenith.[32]

He had in him the attributes of a noble Turk and a valiant Rajput. Compared with his father and grandfather he was more concerned with the laws of Shariah. He abrogated "Sajda" (سجدہ) and many other un-Islamic practices. Although Shah Jahan was not a scholar like his father, he acquired a sufficient knowledge that an intelligent practical man would need. Attached to his court were many prominent scholars and poets who were respected and honoured.[33]

The policy of regaining the ancestral territory in Transoxiana (Central Asia) and establishing his authority in Deccan had kept him on alert ; but his fond hope to annex Samarqand did not materialize, whereas in Daccan he met with considerable success.[34]

29. *Ibid.*, 470-71.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*,
32. *Ibid.*
33. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 470-90.
34. *Ibid.*

Yet another aspect of his rule that made him more famous was his aesthetic taste for beautiful gardens and buildings. He inherited an empire that was firmly established and was prosperous. It was an appropriate time for activities other than the consolidation of empire. He made a generous use of his aesthetic taste and the resources of his empire in raising beautiful gardens and imposing buildings of unique architectural splendour. In history he is known as a great builder who had to his credit many beautiful buildings like the Taj Mahal, Moti Masjid Agra, Jamia Masjid Dehli, Lal Qala Dehli, Shalamar Bagh Lahore, Jahangir's Tomb Lahore, Jamia Masjid Thatta and many other buildings. Here Shah Jahan exhibited his talent in a variety of designs whose parallel history has yet to find.[35]

Aurangzeb : In 1658 A.D. Shah Jahan was deposed by his third son Aurangzeb who emerged victorious in the battle of succession fought at Samugarh. Dara was defeated and put to death. The other brothers Murad and Shuja met a similar fate. Fearing any possible conspiracy against himself he put Shah Jahan in confinement in the fort of Agra, where he passed the remaining years of his life in utter despair. The only person who stood by him in his fallen days was his daughter, Jahan Ara who comforted him and nursed him in old age.[36]

Aurangzeb was made of a different element. He had in him the quickness of Timur, fearlessness of Babur, military shrewdness of Akbar, scholarly accomplishment of Jahangir and aesthetic taste of Shah Jahan. He possessed the qualities he required to run the empire. He remained on horseback in the Deccan to command his forces, but at the same time was not unmindful of the north. He kept the reins of the empire in his strong hands and enjoyed the absolute authority until his death in 1707.[37]

Many of the European and Hindu writers have tried to paint him as a religious zealot, which he was not. He succeeded the throne of Dehli in the true spirit of his ancestors and followed most of the policies which were really originated during the reign of Akbar and

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 571-601.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 481-91.
37. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-601.

zealously followed by his successors. Many of the problems he was made to encounter were brewing for some time and were turning into a real threatening force during his reign, but he firmly dealt with them. No rebellion and no outrage could measure strength against the iron will of Aurangzeb, and as Abdul Aziz in the campaign of Balkh said, "To fight against Aurangzeb is to fight against ones own destiny", it was not easy to contain him.[38]

Aurangzeb was simple unassuming and puritan in his habits. The difficult life he was obliged to live in his early career, made him tough and vigorous. He abolished many of the court etiquettes that did not agree with the teachings of Islam and tried to bring the laws of his empire in conformity with the Shariah.[39]

He was tolerant, large hearted and accommodating. In spite of the rebellion and open hostility of Sivaji and his son he brought up Sahu (grandson of Sivaji) with love and care. Throughout his life Sahu acknowledged his greatness and always visited his grave to pay his respect and indebtedness.[40]

Akbar introduced many customs which were against the teachings of Islam. Some of them were abolished by Jahangir and Shah Jahan, but there were still many others which were equally objectionable. Aurangzeb abolished the institution of Chahar Taslim (چہار تسلیم) and Zamin Bosi (kissing the floor) which were not respectable customs and stopped appearing through Jharoka to receive the homage from the subjects. The growing convention of the exchange of presents on the occasion of the celebration of Nauroz was also stopped. He made the court audience simple and abolished the artificial traditions and conventions. Vakils were appointed to hear and redress the grievances of the people. There was no bar on an individual on filing a suit against the king as was lawful under the Shariah. He considered that the money in the imperial treasury was a public property and he had no right to spend it for his own glorification. He had set aside the revenue of a few villages for his own living in addition to the proceeds of his earnings by copying the Quran.[41]

38. *Ibid.* 39. *Ibid.* 40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*

Among the six great Mughal rulers Babur, Jahangir and Aurangzeb were great scholars. Although Aurangzeb did not write his autobiography, he left a story of his literary creation in the form of letters on a variety of subjects. These letters are considered to be models of simple, plain and effective prose and are being prescribed for various courses of study. He was a great patron of learning and had great respect for scholarship. He gave financial assistance to scholars to help them spread knowledge. He built and endowed madrissas and provided help for the learners.[42]

Realizing the necessity of a comprehensive book on Muslim Jurisprudence (فقہ) for the administration of justice he appointed a commission of scholars to study and compile a standard book on the subject in the light of the needs and demands of the society. In the compilation of this book scholars like Shah Abdur Rahim Dehlvi and Maulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti also participated. It is a monumental work and can guide us for a similar compilation today.[43]

Aurangzeb disaccounted music, poetry and panegyric compositions ; but this did not mean that he had no taste for them or was averse to their healthy development. He appreciated good poetry and quoted several verses in his letters. He believed that indulgence in music and poetry would take away the manliness from the Muslim society.[44]

The Characteristics of the Mughal Rule . As has already been said, the Mughal period can be divided into two parts. The first part covers the period of ascendency and political and military supremacy which started with the founding of the empire in 1526 A.D. and came to an end in 1707 A.D. with the death of Aurangzeb, the sixth in the line of the successive monarchs called "the Great Mughals". The second part relates to the period of downfall which followed the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. and ended with the deposition of Bahadur Shah Zafar in 1858 A.D. In this chapter an estimate of the rule of the Great Mughals is being given.

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42. *Ibid.*
43. Ikram, *op. cit.*
44. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-601.

ADMINISTRATION :

(a) **Central Administration** : The Mughal empire with its vast territories extending from the lofty Himalayas to the tumultuous waters of the Indian ocean and from Arakan and Bengal to Kabul was hard to administer. But in spite of difficult means of communication and occasional rebellions the Great Mughals had been able to develop a system of administration which helped them keep the empire intact and prosper so long as they remained powerful.

The system of administration can be divided into two parts. The Military-cum-Civil administration and the administration of justice. The fountain head of power was the emperor himself who was the supreme commander, chief executive and the final court of appeal. The emperor had a council of ministers, but the advice of a minister was not binding on him. These powers were delegated to the mansabdars (nobility) holding office of responsibility and to the public servants who formed the administrative bureaucracy ; but the emperor always held the absolute power in his own hand.[45]

The mansabdars formed the Mughal nobility which combined in one office the army, the peerage and the civil administration. But it was not a hereditary office. A mansabdar was "directly recruited, promoted and dismissed", and was a paid employee of the state. In the reign of Akbar the system carried 30 grades of pay. The highest rank which an ordinary officer could attain was that of the commander of 5,000 horses ; while the higher ranks of 7,000 and 10,000 were exclusively reserved for the royal family. Each grade carried a fixed salary or a jagir out of which the holder was to maintain the specified number of troops for the service of the emperor as and when required. The mansabdar enjoyed restricted authority over his jagir, and was not allowed to collect any amount of money in excess. In order to rout out any possible corruption jagirs were sometimes transferred from one mansabdar to another.[46]

The central administration had a number of ministries and departments which included Imperial Household, Exchequer, Military

45. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 554-565.
46. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 555-65.

pay office, Censorship of Public Morals, Endowments, Artillery, Correspondence, Mint Master, Lord Privy Seal, Audit, Imperial works, Revenue, Admirality, Forests, News Reports, Petition, Army Store, Ceremonies and Police. These and several other departments functioned directly under the supervision of the mansabdars, ministers and high ranking officers who were responsible to the emperor. The officers incharge of these departmants were known as Khan-i-Saman, Diwan, Mir Bakhshi, Mir Atish, Darogha-i-Dak, Darogha-i-Texal, Mir Mal, Mustaufi Nazir Buyutat, Mushrif, Mir Bahr, Mir Bar, Waqai Navis, Mir Arz, Mir Tuzuk, Kotwal.[47]

The judiciary had three principal officers. The Qazi-ul-Quzzat was the principal investigator who tried criminal and civil cases of both the Muslims and the Hindus and made the appointment of Qazis. The Mufti was to see and scrutinize the cases according to the Muslim law and the Mir Adl was to pronounce judgement.[48]

(b) **Provincial Administration** : The provincial administration was headed by a Subedar or Nazim who had for his assistance the services of Dewan, Bakshi Faujdar, Kotwal, Qazi, Sadr, Amil, Waqai Navis and many other officials.

Subedar or the provincial governor was ordinarily a mansubdar of high rank. He was appointed governor to serve the emperor and act on his behalf in maintaining law and order and administering justice. The subedar was partly free to exercise his own discretion, but he could hold the office only under the pleasure of the emperor.[49]

R e v e n u e:

The Mughal empire had two sources of revenue the central and the provincial. The sources of the central revenue were land revenue, customs, inheritance, war spoils, presents and the pole tax ; while the provincial revenue was drawn from the duties and taxes on production, consumption and transport.

The revenue was collected with the help of the province which were divided into sarkars and porganas. The "amalguzar" was the chief revenue collector in the district. He was assisted by a number of qanoongos and patwaris who were required to maintain a record

47. *Ibid.* 48. *Ibid.* 49. *Ibid.*

of cultivated land and revenue receipts. The land revenue system introduced during the Mughal period is still being followed with only minor modifications.[50]

Social And Economic Life : The Great Mughals had been able to establish in their kingdom peace, prosperity and security of life and property. This provided an impetus for the development of agriculture, industry, craft and trade and commerce. The more the progress in the economic field the more the prosperity. They constructed canals and developed other means of irrigation which helped the cultivation of food grains and raw material for the industry. Wheat, rice, cotton and sugar-cane were grown in abundance. The silk and wool were also produced in large quantities. The cotton, silk and wool were highly developed and prosperous industries and their manufactured goods were in great demand. The other principal industries included dyeing, woodwork, metal work, stone cutting, carpet making. In Sind, for example, ornamented disks and writing cases inlaid with ivory were manufactured. All these goods particularly the textile goods were sent to foreign markets in different countries of Asia, Europe and Africa. The most important trade routes ran from Lahore to Kabul and from Multan to Qandhar and from ports to ports in the open sea.[51]

The larger towns situated mainly on the river banks and on the important trade routes were beautiful and populous and were larger and more populous than many of the big cities of the contemporary Europe. The important towns like Agra, Delhi, Allahabad, Lucknow, Jaunpur, Azimabad, Murshidabad, Lahore, Burhanpur, Ahamadabad, Thatta, and Multan and many other important towns were connected with good roads with shaded trees and carvansarais all along the route. These link trunks facilitated travelling and helped the promotion of trade and commerce. The business and other transactions were made through moburs, rupees and dams struck at the imperial mint houses.[52]

Education and Learning : The Mughal rulers were great patrons of learning. Babur, Jahangir, Aurangzeb were reputed writers and

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50. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 555-65.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 566-77.
52. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-601.

the titular. Bahadur Shah Zafar was a poet. One of the chief functions of the Public works department under Babur was the establishment of schools and colleges to promote learning. Humayun converted the pleasure house of Sher Shah in the old fort into a library and laid the foundation of a big madrissa in Delhi. Akbar established colleges at Fathpur Sikri, Agra, Delhi and other places for the benefit of all and effected desirable changes in the curriculum. Jahangir was so fond of establishing schools and colleges that he got repaired a number of forsaken buildings and converted them into big educational institutions. Fortunately this interest in education did not fade in the succeeding period of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb ; and significant changes were made in the curriculum and methods of teaching. Aurangzeb had shown a great concern for the education of missions in the coastal regions of Gujrat and made a sort of experiment in universal, free and compulsory education this experiment gained maturity and formed its own shape, the educational destiny of the nation could have been quite different.[53]

Apart from the patronage of state in the promotion of learning people had a common interest in education. The nobles, the rich and the scholars themselves participated with the same interest and zeal and equally contributed to the promotion and growth of learning. They established schools and colleges and endowed big properties for their maintenance.[54]

Education in these institutions was free for any person wanted to acquire knowledge. Generally the institutions were residential where adequate arrangements for board and lodge were made. The students were given pecuniary assistance and the teachers a respectable maintenance allowance. These institutions were free to frame their own curriculum and teach the courses of study and conduct their own examinations. As such they were the administrators, teachers, guardians and examiners. The environment in these institutions was that of a free participation and an intellectual communion between the teacher and the taught that bound them toghether in a lasting relationship.[55]

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53. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-601. 54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*

The curriculum prescribed for the study in these institutions covered both seccular and non seccular subjects which were characterized by the terms revelational and rational sciences (علوم منقول و معقول) and employed Persian as the medium of instruction. The history of Muslim education shows that rational and revelational sciences have always been taken as a unified unit and the curriculum always relected this concept. Necessary changes and modifications were made and advancement in human knowledge. But unfortunately towards the close of this period change and experiment in curriculum stopped and no further improvement was effected. This rigid attitude had taken away the initiative, creatiavity and research. The result was a complete disaster of our social political and cultural life, and when the English gained supremacy in the nineteenth century, they made no secrets to replace the system by substituting their own.[56]

The Mughal patronage of learning provided a healthy environment of scientific pursuits of knowledge. There were scholars who were attached to the court, but there were many others who would not like to have any association or bondage with Government. This period of the Mughal rule is thus full of big names who made a substantial contribution to specific branches of knowledge. The major contributions were made into the field of Quran, Hadith, Jurisprudence language and literature historiography, philosophy, astronomy, logic, medicine, art and architecture, painting, music etc. The literature produced in India was also held in esteem and was translated into Persian.[57]

Prominent among the scholars during the Great Mughals were Babur, Gul Badan Begum, Malik Muhammad Jaisi, Maulla Daud, Abul Fazal, Faizi, Abdul Qadir Buduani, Nizamuddin Ahmed, Faizi Sirhindi, Abdul Baqi, Mukammal Khan Gujrati, Abdur Rahim Khane-Khanan, Shah Mohammad Shah Abdali, Urfi, Naziri, Jehangir, Abu Talib Kaleem, Muatamad Khan, Abdul Haq Dehlavi, Qudsi, Talib Aulia, Abdul Hameed Lahoori, Mohammad Soaleh Kamboh, Dara Shikoh, Jehan Ara Begum, Aurangzeb Alamgir, Zaib-un-Nisa, Khafi Khan, Mirza Mohammad Kazim, Mohammad Saqi, Nemat Khan Ali and many others. Although during the later Mughals con-

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56. *Ibid.* 57. *Ibid.*

ditions were not helpful for any intellectual activity, it has produced many scholars of eminance including some of the reknown urdu poets and prominent prose writers.[58]

Education was not confined to men only. Provision for female education also existed. The ladies of the royal household and the nobility received sufficiently good education. Some of these ladies earned fame in their field of knowledge. Gul Badan Begum who wrote Humayun nama, Salima Sultana versified in Persian, Noor Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal were highly educated ladies of their time. While Jahan Ara and Zaibun Nisa left to their credit a considerable amount of literary work. The pen name of Zaibun Nisa was "Makhfi".[59]

Art and Architecture : The Mughal period is particularly famous for its art and architecture. Painting was taken up and developed in various forms. Mir Sayyed Ali and Abdus Samad were early painters who laid the foundation of the Mughal School of Art which was a happy blending of the Sino-Iranian and Indian influence. The Muslim painters had also shown their inclination towards painting the writings of the "Holy Quran" in various forms and styles. The paintings of "Khandan-i-Timuriya" and the illustrated "Dastan-e-Amir Hamza" are but two examples along with many other beautiful pieces of art in the mosques, mausoleums and many other buildings that represent their pain staking efforts and creativity.[60]

The Mughals have singularly excelled in architectural design and in erecting buildings that speak of their grandeur even after several hundred years. Although Babur was keenly interested in constructing new buildings of good designs, he did not get much time to devote his attention to construct buildings of his own taste.[61]

Humayun stayed lost in the political confusion of his period and did not get an opportunity to leave any magnificent monument. The reign of Akbar and Jahangir marked a new beginning of the Turko-Iranian style. Akbar in some of the buildings introduced a combination of the Hindu and the Muslim style. The architectural designs initiated during the early period of the Mughal rule got perfected during the reign of Shah Jahan who himself was a

58. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-601.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*

great builder. The journey of the Mughal architecture from the architectural design of the "Tomb of Humayun" to the "Taj Mahal" was long and difficult, but systematic and progressive and indeed "Taj' Mahal" has been the climax of the Mughal School of architecture.[62]

The buildings at Delhi, Agra, Lahore, and many other places exhibit the aesthetic taste the Mughals had developed for their buildings. The planned capital town of Fathpur Sikri which Akbar built near the site of the battle of Khanwah even today demonstrates the determinantion and the artistic taste of the builder. The Buland Darwaza, serving as a gateway to the shrine and Masjid of Salim Chishti the Khawangah, the Panj Mahal and many other buildings are still considered pieces of architectural beauty. The inlaid shell work on the Mazar of Salim Chishti even today surpasses in beauty and excellence and shows the perfection of the artistic workmanship. The tomb of Humayun, the fort of Agra, the fort of Attock, the fort of Allahabad, the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, and the tomb of Itemadud Daula Agra, they are all, but examples of great work by great people.[63]

Shah Jahan had a great name in history as the builder of one of the most beautiful edifices on earth. The Taj Mahal had immortalized him, but it was not the only beautiful monument that he had built. There were many others which surpassed each other in beauty and grandeur. The Moti Masjid Agra, the Lal Qila (Red Fort) Delhi, with Diwan-i-Khas and Diwan-i-Am, Jamia Masjid Delhi, Shalimar Bagh Lahore and Shalimar Bagh Srinagar, the Jamia Masjid Thatta, the tomb of Jahangir Lahore, are but few examples of the achievements of the Mughal architecture. Aurangzeb had but little to his credit as a builder but he built Masjid Alamgiri Banaras and the historic Badshahi Masjid of Lahore, which was the venue of the Juma congregation before the start of the Second Islamic Summit Conference recently held at Lahore in Febuary, 1974. Never before in the history such a congregation of Muslim rulers gathered together to bow down to the Almighty Allah.[64]

62. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-601.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*

Relation of Muslim India with the Muslim World : The muslim India maintained close and cordial relations with the neighbouring countries, specially with Turan (now the Central Asian Turkish Republics of the USSR) and Iran. Most of the ruling dynasties of India had their ancestral home in Turan for which they had always had a fanciful respect. This encouraged the migration of scholars, sufis, merchants, fortune seekers and adventurers who continued to migrate to India and participated in the social and economic life of the country. In those days there were no restrictions on travel. Any Muslim migrant could go anywhere in the Muslim world and settle down. Both the sultans of Delhi and the Mughal emperors patronized the talents migrating from the Muslim world to make India their permanent home. And indeed many teachers, scholars, architects, engineers, poets and the civil and military leaders had worked hard, brought prosperity to their new home and earned good name.

The political relationship with the contemporary Muslim rulers was generally good. Although the Mughals did not recognize the Turkish caliphate, they had good relations with the sultans of Turkey. Sometimes embassies and gifts were exchanged to strengthen these relationships.

India under the Mughals was a prosperous country and had many items of its manufactured goods to export and receive back in exchange or on cash payment many things which were neither manufactured nor grown in India.

CHAPTER V

DECLINE OF THE MUSLIM POWER
(The Later Mughals)

War of Succession: The Mughal rule in India reached its zenith under the capable leadership of Aurangzeb, but his death in 1707 A.D. left a power vacuum which his weak successors had not been able to fill. The war of succession among his sons revealed many cracks in the administration. His eldest son, Muazzam who was 64 years of age at that time, crowned himself as the emperor of India at the Shah Daula bridge near Lahore and marched on to Agra. His two sons also moved to Agra from Multan and Shahzadpur to reinforce their father.[1]

Azam Shah, the second son of Aurangzeb was not far away from Ahmadnagar. When he received the news of his father's death he rushed back to Ahmadnagar and participated in the funeral ceremony and then proclaimed himself to be the emperor of the country. Most of the officers paid homage to him, but some remained neutral. Azam moved to the north and continued his march until he reached Gwalior where he received a message from his son, Bidar Bakht that Muazzam had already mastered Agra and Delhi. In June 1707 A.D. both the brothers faced each other to settle the question of succes-

1. A History of Freedom Movement. Vol. I, Karachi, 1957, pp. 75-85, Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

sion in the traditional Mughal style near Jajau not far from Samugarh where their father fought a similar war of succession with his elder brother Dara Shikoh. Muazzam offered to settle down the issue according to the will of Aurangzeb or if at all fighting was inevitable let that be a duel between them. But Azam refused to accept the proposal.[2]

The inevitable hour came. Some of the trusted generals of Azam deserted him. Raja Jai Singh of Amber and Zulfiqar Ali Khan made over to Muazzam. The battle was fought. Azam and his sons faced the opposing army valiantly, but fell dead. Muazzam gained strategic victory and having disposed of his youngest brother Kam Bukhsh, he became the seventh monarch of the House of Timur under the title of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah.[3]

Bahadur Shah : Bahadur Shah received good training in warfare and administration, but was a weak ruler. He was learned, dignified, generous and mild, but too old to shoulder the heavy responsibility of an emperor. His policy of peace and appeasement in contrast with the firm and disciplined administration of his father did not solve the problems, but created many more. Things did not look so bad during the short tenure of his rule, but they were fast getting out of control. His death in 1712 A.D. only after five years of his tamed rule, brought the empire to the point of a final show down.[4]

The nobles and responsible courtiers spent their energy and time in intrigues and conspiracies. One powerful group would overthrow the other and the princes of the House of Timur rolled on from one protector to another. They received different treatment at the hands of different masters, but it would hardly make any difference. They were either humiliated or blinded or imprisoned or killed or banished. During one hundred years of the nominal rule of the Mughals following the death of Aurangzeb, fifteen titular kings were brought to the throne as against six great Mughals who controlled the empire for 181 years by establishing their authority on their rivals.[5]

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2. *Ibid.* 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-137.
4. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86. 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-137.

Farrukh Siyar : The war of succesion among the sons of Bahadur Shah was not different from their predecessors. Of the four brothers Jahangir managed to defeat and kill the others. But due to his indulgence in wine and women he failed to encounter his nephew Farrukh Siyar who captured Agra and Delhi and mercilessly murdered his associates.[6]

Farrukh Siyar won the throne with the assistance of the Saiyed brothers, Abdullah and Hussain Ali. Besides being intelligent and capable these two brothers were ambitious and unscrupulous. Instead of using their talents for any useful purpose they wasted them in petty intrigues. King making was their game and they played it with great acumen. In their bid to get rid of Farrukh Siyar they brought the Meratha mercenaries to the imperial capital and undermined the interest of the empire. Farrukh Siyar was deposed, blinded and killed in 1719 A.D. He was followed by two other ill fated princes, Rafi-ul-Darjat and Rafi-ul-Daula. They were made emperors to live as captives of the Saiyed brothers.[7]

Mohammad Shah : Muhammad Shah, a grand son of Bahadur Shah I, who was eventually placed on the throne, after the assassination of four other unfortunate monarchs, was a cousin of Farrukh Siyar, and it was the last game of king making the crafty Saiyed brothers played. By now many courtiers were sick of them and so deep was the hatred against them that Muhammad Shah easily won the sympathies of many nobles and it was not long before they met the same treacherous fate they had been playing against others. Hussain Ali was slain and Abdullah was imprisoned.[8]

Muhammad Shah was an intelligent young man, but not strong enough to take any bold action. He remained engaged in putting down the rebellions and keeping the seceding provinces into the imperial fold. But the process of disintegration of the empire had already set in. Muhammad Shah alone with his comparatively weak policies could not hold it. Hardly had there been any honest and faithful officials who could keep the security and the interest of the

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88. 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-96.
8. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-96.

country above his own interest. This state of affairs brought change in his attitude and consequently he left the state responsibilities their own way.[9]

Invasion of Nadir Shah : Muhammad Shah was still battling againt the forces of disintegration, when another fateful hour came in the history of the Mughal India. Nadir Shah Afshar of Iran invaded India in 1739 A.D. and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Mughal forces. Khan Dauran was killed in the encounter, while Saadat Khan negotiated peace with the victor on an indemnity of two crore rupees. But when the title of Amir-ul-Umra was conferred upon Nizam-ul-Mulk, Saadat Khan changed his mind and went to Nadir Shah with a different proposal. He impressed upon him that a sum of Rs. 2.00 crore was a very small amount which even he could pay from his treasury and instigated him to be more demanding.[10]

The treachery of Saadat Khan, the founder of the kingdom of Oudh brought misery to all. Delhi was sacked and the people were massacred and plundered. The peacock throne, the Koh-i-Noor and other precious stones together with crores of rupees were taken away and the prestige of the Mughal army was completely shattered. The emperor and his defeated army failed to protect the life and property of the people. This shook the empire to its foundation and hastened the process of its downfall.[11]

Among the later Mughals who still wielded some power Muhammad Shah had the longest period of rule, but he had not been able to achieve anything tangible. Although there were many other contributory factors to the downfall, his weak-mindedness, lack of decision, love for ease and comfort and "foundness for all kinds of pleasures" in extremely unfavourable conditions only strengthened the process of decay. The collapse of the total system was drawing close and the succeeding emperors to the throne of Delhi were only waiting for their extermination.[12]

Successors of Muhammad Shah : The death of Muhammad Shah intensified the internal strife. The high ranking administrators

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-106. 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-06. 11. *Ibid.*

12. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 528-30.

intrigued against each other for their selfish ends. Safdar Jang who was the nephew and son-in-law of Saadat Khan of Oudh, was appointed the Wazir. He resented the conferring of the title of Amir-ul-Umra on Ghazi-ud-din Imadul Mulk. This promoted him to conspire with the forces of disintegration and asked Suraj Mal Jat to help him. This he willingly did and with the co-operation of Safdar Jang ruthlessly plundered the capital. Ahmad Shah who succeeded his father Muhammad Shah as the emperor of India was deposed in 1754 A.D. only after six years of rule to make way to Alamgir II who was murdered in 1759 A.D. This brought Shah Alam II to the throne, but being a puppet in many hands he did not have any control over his own destiny. He was humiliated and made to play the final note on the fall of the Mughal empire.[13]

The intrigues and the counter intrigues in the court and the breakaway provinces helped the new adventurers to have the balance of power in their hands. Ahmad Shah Abdali annexed the Punjab; while the English in the East and the Marathas in the South were measuring their strength to succeed the great Mughals. The Marathas conquered and brought the northern India under their political and military control. They captured Lahore and forced Prince Timur, son of Ahmad Shah Abdali to flee. This enraged Abdali who came down to Lahore and forced the Marathas to withdraw.[14]

Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Marathas : Things were now taking a serious turn and a final show down seemed to have been imminent. Men of intelligence and integrity and thinkers like Shah Waliullah felt grieved. They were anxious to save the empire and the decaying Muslim society, but were surrounded by a host of intriguers who made all attempts of revival ineffective. Shah Waliullah was a great guiding force in the eighteenth century. He influenced Najib-ul-Daula and many other right thinking individuals attached to the court and made them see the danger. Najib-ul-daula who was a Rohilla of Umer-khel Yousafzai, rose to the position of Amir-ul-Umra by his own sincere efforts. He realized that it was indeed a great critical moment in the history of Muslim India. The Maratha menace was out to

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-37. 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-80.

destroy the Muslim power but Delhi was incapable of taking any firm and decisive action. This made things difficult and Najib-ul-Daula hardly had been able to set things right when the intrigues of Safdar Jang and Imadul Mulk weakened the hold of Najib-ul-Daula and he was forced out of capital in 1757 A.D. for a possible Maratha run over.[15]

The growing Maratha power and the Sikh lawlessness in the Punjab brought Abdali once again to India. In 1759-60 he defeated the Marathas at Thanesar and with the help of Najib-ud-Daula and other Rohilla chiefs beat them hard at Bararighat and Sikandarabad. It was now seriously realized that if the Maratha force was not destroyed in time the future of the Muslims of India would be in a grave danger. Shah Waliullah made a strong appeal to Ahmad Shah Abdali to come to the rescue of the Indian Muslims, while Najib-ud-Daula persuaded him to take a firm action against the Marathas. When Ahmad Shah agreed to make a total war on the Marathas, Najib-ul-Daula dashed to his second mission to win over Shuja-ud-Daula (son of Safdar Jang) of Oudh, who was not quite unfavourable to the Marathas. It was a difficult mission, but he succeeded in securing the cooperation of Shuja-ud-Daula.[16]

Third Battle of Panipat 1761 : Following these events the combined Maratha forces of more than two lakhs under the command of Sada Shiv Rao Bhao and Vishvas Rao as its nominal commander-in-chief marched on to the north. After several skrimishes and small gains the Marathas captured Delhi with the help of Imad-ul-Mulk and then moved to encamp at Panipat for a final assault.[17]

In the meantime the forces of Ahmad Shah Abdali waylaid the main supply route and successfully ambushed the supplies to the Maratha army. In this encounter Govind Ballal was killed and the supply line to the Maratha forces was completely cut off. This mishap to the Maratha army horrified Sada Shiv Rao Bhao and he made several attempts to negotiate for peace, but it did not materialize. Hunger and thirst and the increasing loss of livestock made the

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15. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-80. 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-92.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-97.

Marathas desperate. They attacked the positions of Ahmad Shah Abdali with great force but were pushed back. The Marathas were now left with no choice but to resort to a hand to hand fight in which Vishvas Rao and Sada Shiv Rao Bhao were killed. The Maratha army was completely routed out and only a few had been able to escape starvation or killing. It was the last great victory which the Muslims had so far achieved on the plains of Panipat and it was indeed a great victory.[18]

Following the great victory Ahmad Shah committed the greatest political blunder of his life. He entrusted the empire to Shah Alam II with Najib-ul-Daula as Amir-ul-Umra and himself retired to Qandhar. The Mughal empire was dying and the much needed vitality could not be restored by such good gestures. Even Najib-ul-Daula, with all his intelligence, sincerity and experience failed to restore order and the fruits of this great victory fell in the hands of the English adventurers. Ahmed Shah should have stayed in India and streamlined the administration. The removal of an emperor who was seeking protection for his own life was not a big price for the cause.[19]

Causes of the Downfall: Islam develops and disciplines the life of an individual in his own social and economic environment. If this disciplining influence is withdrawn the individual in his social interaction becomes docile and inactive. History has in record many incidents when complete adherence to Islam helped a handful of Muslims achieve the unachievable and change the course of time. But when Islam was abandonded for ease and luxury, the mighty Muslim empires fell down. Since Islam is not composed of rituals, rather it offers a complete code of life for the guidance of mankind, it requires the individual Muslim to order his life in the true spirit of Islam.

The history of the rise and fall of the Muslim rule in India reveals many aspects of the social order of the time. When disciplined to build up a high sense of moral integrity and sure footed in the art of government no force or intrigue could defeat them. But as soon as the disciplining force of Islam faded away, disintegration

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18. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-97. 19. *Ibid.*

loomed over and neither any individual force nor any collective wisdom and planning could restore the moving spirit that kept the political, economic and social life together. This had been true in the past and is equally true in the present and applies to the social, political, economic and religious life we are living today. There can be no substitute for unity, integrity and intellectual sharpness.

In the early centuries of the Islamic dominance the world has witnessed an intensive intellectual activity in almost all fields of human knowledge. It was equally true in the case of India but the long period of prosperity and power made them extremely rich and led them to a life of ease and comfort, which give birth to corruption and loss of moral grace, particularly among the highly placed Muslims. This type of living brought a bad effect on the other sections of the society and readily subscribed to the downfall of the empire. Thanks to a handful of Muslim intellectuals who spear-headed the revivalist movement to save the Muslims from total destruction.

Any society that ceases to be creative and falls into rigid traditionalism loses its vitality and progressivism. When the urge for knowledge and innovation died the builders of the Taj Mahal who had well demonstrated their knowledge of architectural designing, chemical composition of colours, skill in engineering and stone cutting and many other aspects of science and technology, their growth stopped.

During the period of decline the promotion of knowledge and learning was ignored. The curriculum which was being changed according to the demands of time was sanctified and no change was made to include in the courses of study new ideas developing in other parts of the world. Most of the education in the country were ignorant of the expansion of knowledge taking place in the contemporary world. The philosophy, mathematics, logic and medicine they taught did not have much relevance to new disciplines and new developments.

The decline of knowledge in the Muslim world was followed by the decline of political and military power, while in the meantime a

profound upsurge for the acquisition of scientific knowledge was taking place in the West. This ultimately led to an industrial revolution and the development of new weapons and new techniques of warfare. Consequently the European nations took a lead in navigating the oceans, discovering new land, conquering the old land and converting the whole world into European colonies. They did not assume only a physical control over the land and people, but controlled their political, social, economic and cultural life and used their resources for their own benefit.

The Muslims were the worst sufferers. The christian Europe did not forget their humiliating defeats in the crusades which they imposed on the muslims in Palestine from time to time. In the nineteenth century most of the muslim land fell into the hands of the christian colonial powers and whatever remained under the Turkish control was wrested in the World War-I, 1914-18. The non-muslims militarism still continues to dominate the muslims. The creation of Israel in Palestine the continuing control of Transoxiana and other muslim lands and the military supremacy of the non-muslim super powers speak of their designs.

Causes of the Decline of the Mughals : The events that followed the death of Aurangzeb in India left no doubt that the empire would fall any moment. Some of the causes of the downfall are summed up as under :[20]

1. As in any autocratic administration the Mughal emperor was the chief executive who combined in him the powers of modern legislature, executive and judiciary. If he was intelligent, strong, astute, bold, firm as well as tolerant and accommodating with a marked quality of decision, he was both respected and feared. His wrath would fall on the tyrant and his benevolence would help the poor. So long as the emperors possessed these qualities their authority was not disputed. But as soon as these personal qualities waned the authority of the monarch was challenged and he was subjected to humiliatton.

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20. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-137.

2. The Mughals had a highly centralized administration. The functionaries of the government were only to carry out the orders of the emperor. The provincial administration was not autonomous. It was subject to the severe central control. This system had an inherent weakness. The moment the centre would become weak intrigues and conspiracies would find their way consequently. The crowns were placed and toppled down and thus the intriguing courtiers during the period of the later Mughals sold out the empire for their selfish ends.

3. The weakness of the centre which led to the establishment of independent provinces, created political confusion. The new rulers who were born of intrigues were also surrounded by intrigues. Most of them entered into unholy alliances with the Marathas, the Jats, the Sikhs and the adventuring European settlements and fell a victim to their own intrigues. While this game was being played most jealously, the helpless emperor was running for protection from one post to another. This ultimately caused the total collapse of the empire.

4. The army was the chief controlling agency of the administration and the emperor was the supreme commander. One of the main reasons of the success of Babur at the first battle of Panipat was the superiority of his arms and his better knowledge of the art of warfare. After the death of Aurangzeb the Mughal army degenerated and lacked improved skill and equipment. The ambitious mansabdars who were allowed to maintain an army for the emperor used it for the consolidation of their own power and thereby reducing the authority of the emperor. The invasion of Nadir Shah Afshar destroyed the prestige of the Mughal army and never afterwards it could revise its strength.

5. Any society that ceases to be creative and falls into rigid traditionalism, loses its vitality and progressivism. When the urge for knowledge and innovation died the builders of the Taj Mahal who had well demonstrated their knowledge of architectural designing, chemical composition of colours,

skill in engineering and stone cutting and many other aspects of science and technology, their growth stopped. During the period of decline the promotion of knowledge and learning was ignored. The curriculum which was being changed according to the demands of time was sanctified and no change was made to include in the courses of study new ideas developing elsewhere Most of the educators in the country were ignorant of the expansion of knowledge taking place in the contemporary world. The philosophy, mathematics, logic, medicine they taught had no relevance to the new disciplines and new developments.

6. The long period of prosperity and power which made the muslim society extremely rich, gradually led them to a life of ease and comfort. This gave birth to corruption and loss of moral grace, particularly among the highly placed muslims. This brought a bad effect on the other sections of the society and readily subscribed to the downfall of the empire. Thanks to a handfull of intellectuals who spearheaded to the revivalist movement to save the muslims from total destruction.

7. The weak successors of Aurangzeb allowed to Maratha army to develop into a mighty force, which had ultimately threatened the very existence of the state.

8. The Mughals had not been able to establish any principle or convention for the selection of a successor. It was usually decided by the might of arm.

9. The Mughals did not care to build up a navy to check the attacks from the sea.

10. The Muslim rule in India faced an inherent difficulty. In the beginning it was an alien rule over a population which had a different religion, culture and tradition. But during the course of time open and secret hatred of the Hindus resulted in a sort of psychological tension that continued to persist against them even after they had made it their home, without any political or economic links with their ancestral lands. The Hindu society being so rigid under its Brahminic control, any identity of outlook and ideology could not be developed and the conflict continued.

11. Due to the long absence of Aurangzeb from the north the central administration started weakening and the officials were becoming corrupt. This remained invisible during his life-time, but erupted like a volcano after his death.

12. The initiative and creativity in the pursuit of knowledge and the urge for discovering new avenues died down. The educational instruction was confined to a narrow traditional pattern of learning, while the world was moving very fast to a new order in education and learning.

CHAPTER VI

REVIVALIST MOVEMENT

Shah Abdul Rahim : The collapse of the military and political power of the Muslims in the eighteenth century was accompanied by the moral, intellectual and economic breakdown of the society. This alarmed the right thinking Muslims inside and outside the government. Shah Abdur Rahim of Delhi, who was a great scholar of his time and was for some time associated with the compilation of the "Fatawai Alamgiri" (فتاوی عالم گیری) saw the signs of decay even during the life time of Aurangzeb. He was very much grieved at the moral and intellectual breakdown of the influential people at the court and made an earnest effort to correct the situation. He founded the Madrissai Rahimiya at Delhi to spread knowledge and rout out ignorance. This madrissa served as a nursing ground for the leaders of Muslim renaissance in India under the capable leadership of his son Shah Waliullah and his grand children, both as the torch bearers of knowledge and scholarship and as the standard bearers of Islam in the field of battle for ensuring a respectable living for the Muslims.[1]

Shah Waliul'ah : Shah Waliullah was born on February 21,1703 A.D. four years before the death of Aurangzeb. His father Shah Abdur Rahim was a lineal descendent of Hazrat Umar and his mother came from the house of Imam Musa Kazim. He received his education under the guidance of his father and mastered within a short time the rational and revelational sciences including mathematics

1. Ikram, S.M., *Rod-i-Kausar*, Lahore, p. 195.

and medicine. After the death of his father in 1718-19 A.D. he taught at the Madrisai Rahimiya. In 1729 A.D. he set out for Makkah and Madinah where he continued his further study of the "Traditions" with the help of Sheikh Abu Tahir Madni. So deep was the liking for each other that when he was to leave for India emotions stirred up and tears rolled on in the eyes of the Sheikh and also equally moved up with emotions Shah Waliullah took leave of his teacher with a heavy heart.[2]

On his return to India in 1732 A.D. he found the condition still worse. Which were now to multiply in magnitude in later years. The Marathas, the Sikhs, the Saiyed brothers, the Jats, the rivalry of Saadat Khan and Asaf Jah, the invasion of Nadir Shah and the treacherous role of Saadat Khan had brought the country to disaster. Shah Waliullah was the most dynamic personality of his time and within his own capacity was all action and stimulation. He saw the coming storm that would shatter the Mughal empire and carry away all what the Muslims had built up in the last few centuries.[3]

He grievously felt the sad plight of the people and put his hand on every possible source for help. He wrote letters to powerful rulers to unite, and generously praised the Government officials who upheld the cause against odd circumstances and prayed for their further successes.[4] He exhorted Ahmad Shah Abdali and Najib-ul-Daula to put an end to the Maratha menace. In one of his letters addressed to Ahmad Shah Abdali he told him that it was his duty to crush the Marathas who were after the very existence of the Muslims in this country. His influence on Najib-ul-Daulla and other important officers of the government induced them to realize the graveness of the situation and coordinate their efforts to punish the enemy. It has already been explained that unity of purpose and sincerity of effort triumphed at the third battle of Panipat against a formidable enemy.[5]

Shah Waliullah made his greatest mark on the moral and intellectual training of the contemporary muslim society. He knew the weakness and the vices that had crept into the individual and

2. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, p. 493 ; Ikram, S.M., *op, cit.*, pp. 493-96.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-95.
5. *Ibid.*

collective life of the muslims and had brought them to such a disastrous end. He was fully conscious of the fact that the mental and spiritual differences among the various sections of the society were making them weak and vulnerable. He made an earnest effort to unify the scattered muslims to revive the past glory.[6]

He laboured hard to acquire a profound knowledge of the Quran, Hadith, Fiqah (Jurisprudence) and Tasawwuf and prepared a code of moral and social living which his followers carried to almost every hearth and home. The majority of the muslims in the sub-continent today subscribe to these traditions, and the learned people are still carrying them to the masses.[7]

Shah Waliullah translated the Holy Quran into Persian and met a great need of the time. Most of the educated muslims did not know Arabic, but since Persian was the language of administration and was generally studied, the translation greatly benefitted them and helped spread the Quranic knowledge. He believed that Quran had been revealed to the Prophet of Islam for the guidance of mankind and not for decoration on a shelf. It was to be studied and practised. The translation in Persian paved the way for translation in other languages. His two sons, Shah Abdul Qadir and Shah Rafi translated the holy book into Urdu. Since then many translations in Urdu have appeared, but these two translations are being most commonly used.[8]

Shah Waliullah had been the author of a score of important books. The most famous among them are Fauzul Kabir Maqaddima Fi Tarjumatul Quran, Wasiyat Nama, Fuyuzul Haramain, Insaf Fi Bayan-i-Asbab-ul-Ikhtelaf, Lamaat and Hujjatullahil Balegha. The Hujjat is considered to be his most valuable contribution. The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the fundamentals of Islam (Namaz, Rozah, Haj and Zakat) and those principles and generalizations on which the religion is based. The second part analyses the human life and the society in the light of these principles and generalizations.[9]

6. Ikram, *op. cit.* 7. *Ibid.*

8. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 500-05. Ikram, *op. cit.*

9. Ikram, *op. cit.*

These books inspired many people who have imprinted their mark on the passage of time. The greatness of a reformer does not lie only in what he has achieved in his lifetime, but in the number of persons he has trained and inspired to carry on the mission with the same zeal, courage and wisdom. On this criterian Shah Waliullah has only few parallels in history. He was a successful reformer in view of his achievements during his own life time and the spirit with which his mission was carried on after his death ; and, therefore he is rightly called IMAM-UL-HIND, the leader of India. Indeed, he led a vigorous movement of social reform and no glory can be greater than the glory of the success of one's own mission.[10]

The Jahad Movement : The decay and the degeneration that started in the eighteenth century widely spread through the early nineteenth century. The Muslim political supremacy had now come to an end, and the military power completely incapacitated itself to protect the life and property of the people.

The simple monotheistic faith as practised and preached by the Prophet of Islam was being polluted. Many innovations were introduced and sanctified. People were led to believe what Islam did not ordain them to believe and in their simplicity and ignorance they thought they were acting in complete confirmity with the original teachings of Islam. Of the many external ideas that had found their way into muslim social order the influence of Hinduism seemed to have been the most prominent. To quote only a few evils they included undue reverence to the pirs and mazars even in preference to the injunctions laid down in the Quran and Sunnah, the restriction on the marriage of a widow, belief in all sorts of superstitions and rituals and unnecessary expenditure at the time of birth and death customs alien to the Islamic philosophy of life, indulgence in ease and comfort, addiction to wine and many other evils.[11]

Shah Waliullah felt the challenge and decided to fight it out on the intellectual plane. He devised a balanced approach to achieve his objective. His school carried on the mission he had set for himself

10. *Ibid.*

11. Ikram, S.M., *Mauj-i-Kausar*, Lahore, 1958, pp. 5-15 ; Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 566-67.

and for his pupils. Among many of his disciples and devotees his own son, Shah Abdul Aziz is rightly credited to have trained a score of persons and inspired them to live and die for the cause. Syed Ahmad Shaeed Barelvi and his own nephew, Shah Ismail Shaheed initiated a pen and sword Jihad against ingorance and negligence for building up a strong political, military and economic order as has been laid down in the Quran and Sunnah.[12]

SYED AHMAD SHAHEED

Period of Preparation : Syed Ahmad was born in 1786 A.D. at Rai Bareli, a small town not far from Lucknow and Allahabad. He spent his early life in obscurity and after the death of his father faced great hardships. In 1806 A.D. he proceeded to Delhi to enroll himself as a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz at the Madrisai Rahimya. Shah Abdul Aziz was impressed by his simplicity and Islamic zeal. He entrusted him to the care of his brother, Shah Abdul Qadir who taught him the Quran and Hadith, but he had himself guided him in spiritualism. He studied for two years and left for home in 1809 A.D.[13]

In 1810 A.D. he joined the forces of Amir Khan of Tonk, where he rose from a sawar to the command of the body guard. In 1817 A.D. he once again came to Delhi as a mature person gifted with spiritual light. Shah Abdul Aziz advised his son-in-law, Maulvi Abdul Hai and nephew, Shah Ismail to take him as their spiritual guide. This association with the family of Shah Waliullah made him the centre of attraction. He was invited to many places where he exhorted people to restore Islam to its original purity and he was now actually leading a movement.[14]

The task was difficult and the success was far to achieve. But fired by the zeal of rebuilding the Islamic social order he did not think any difficulty greater than the cause itself. The eloquence of Shah Ismail and the good counsel of Maulvi Abdul Hai strengthened

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12. *Ibid* (Freedom Movement), pp. 491-511, 556-600.
13. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11 ; Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 556-60.
14. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-19. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 560-65.

the movement. He won many adherents. According to one estimate it was around 40,00,C00.[15]

Syed Ahmad was a man of action. He was fully aware of the need of reconstructing the moral and intellectual life of the Muslims and eradicating the evils that had corrupted the society. His teachings centre around fighting against corrupt practices, correcting the attitude towards Taqlid and Ijtehad, reforming sufism and reviving political power. In their essence these objectives reflect the direction given by Shah Waliullah. His singular achievement lie only in putting them into action.[16]

In 1821 A.D. he left for Arabia to perform Haj and came back to India in 1824 A.D. This journey provided him an opportunity to visit many places and contact many people. In Arabia he came accross many zealous workers who had devoted themselves to the great task of revitalizing the Muslim social order. On his return he started organising his movement. It was the most critical period of our history. The Mughal empire had almost come to an end and the emperor was reduced to a title holder living on the British charity.[17]

Meanwhile the news of the atrocities of the Sikhs in the Punjab were pouring in. The Sikhs had by now occupied the Punjab, the north-western territory including Kashmir and had subdued the valiant mountain dwellers. They plundered their towns and villages, molested their women, desecrecated their mosques (Masjids) and ransacked their honour and prestige. Syed Ahmad was grieved and his sensitiveness led him to a clarion call for Jihad to free the muslims from the slavary of the Sikhs.[18]

Period of Action: Now the stage for Jihad against the tyranny of the Sikhs was set. He visited Tonk and succeeded in securing the help of the Nawab. Maulvi Abdul Hai and Shah Ismail made extensive tours of several places and enlisted the support of many adherents to the cause. Syed Ahmad proceeded to Sind to cross over Afghanistan. He was well received by the Mir of Sind, but the only active support he got from Shah Sibghatullah, the founder of Hur movement. He

15. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 560-66.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 567-80. 17. *Ibid.*, p. 563.

18. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-20. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

then turned to Mihrab Khan, a chieftain in Baluchistan, who showed great respect to him, but did not provide any substantial support.[19]

Syed Ahmad and his party then moved to Qandhar, Ghaznia and Kabul. At Qandhar he met with some success and recruited a separate company of fighters under the command of Din Muhammad of Qandhar. But in general the conditions in Afghanistan appeared to have been equally unfavourable. He found the Afghan chiefs suspicious of each other and involved in petty quarrels which rendered them incapable of resisting the Sikhs. Syed Ahmad tried to unite them and re-establish the confidence they had lost.[20]

Akora : In 1826 A.D. Syed Ahmad moved to Peshawar and made Nowshera (district Peshawar) his headquarters which provided him a sure-footed ground to encounter the Sikh hostility and enabled him to send a proclamation to Ranjit Singh demanding the compliance of the conditions, but the Sikh ruler ignored the ultimatum. This left Syed Ahmad with no choice but to attack the Sikh forces. The Jihad thus started. The first encounter was made against the Budh Singh at Akora on December 21, 1826 A.D. Although the Mujahideen lost a few of their important leaders, the attack was successful. Soon after in yet another encounter they defeated the Sikhs at Hazro (district Campbelpur), which demoralised them. These gains established the authority of Syed Ahmad and now several Pathans joined the movement. Khadi Khan, Ashraf Khan and Fath Khan came forward to help the cause, but it was soon discovered that many of the indisciplined local leaders who were enrolling themselves were more interested in the spoils of the war than in providing momentum to the movement [21]

In January, 1827 A.D. it was unanimously decided that Syed Ahmad should assume the authority of an Imam. The various chiefs who participated in the meeting accepted him as their leader and committed themselves to the enforcement of the Islamic laws. This temporarily helped the movement. It is estimated that some 80,000 fighters including Yar Muhammad Khan and other Sardars of Peshawar joined the Mujahidin in their bid to drive the Sikhs out.[22]

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19. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*. pp. 560-63, 581-84.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 584-85. 21. *Ibid.*, 585-87.
22. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 587-88.

DIFFICULTIES AND ENCOUNTERS

Yar Muhammad Khan : Syed Ahmad planned to capture the fort of Attock. But before launching any attack he was to encounter 35,000 strong Sikh force under Budh Singh that had started concentrating near Akora. Apparently the Sardars of Peshawar seemed to have been very keen to fight the Sikhs, but behind the scene they were conspiring against the cause by joining their hands with the Sikhs in a secret agreement. One of the servants of Yar Muhammad Khan poisoned Syed Ahmad. But this did not deter him. He fought against the disciplined and better equipped Sikh army and gained an edge over the enemy. But when Yar Muhammad and his supporters openly deserted the Mujahidin, victory was turned into defeat. Some sixty thousand (60,000) muslim fighters were slain in the battle.[23]

Immediately after the battle Yar Muhammad Khan get his reward from his masters. The tribute he was paying to the Sikhs was doubled and his son was taken to Lahore as a hostage. The muslims in their resentment called him "YARU SINGH". Thus the treachery of one muslim Sardar brought disaster to the muslims at large.[24]

Following the defeat at Akora Syed Ahmad made an extensive contact tour in the Yusufzai territories, while Shah Ismail in a similar conduct mission toured Hazara. In spite of the hostility of Yar Muhammad the Mujahidin were mustering support. Several skirmishes took place in which the Mujahidin had been able to strenghthen their position. In the organization of these encounters Shah Ismail demonstrated a great skill in the art of warfare. It was now clearly revealed that he was not only a forceful speaker and a good scholar but also a fearless leader in the battle-field. The Mujahidin were now anxious to settle their account with Yar Muhammad. But before any decision to take an action against him could be made, it was learnt on good authority that he had despatched a lashkar to attack them and that many of the Khans in the camp had deserted the cause.[25]

Syed Ahmad withdrew his forces to Panjtar where he could count on the whole-hearted support of Fath Khan, but even here he faced

23. *Ibid.*, p. 588. 24. *Ibid*, p. 589.

25. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 589-92.

yet another desertion. Khadi Khan made over to the Sikhs, but this again did not dishearten him. The mujahidin made the French General Ventura in the Sikh army to withdraw and killed Khadi Khan in the battle of Hund in 1829 A.D. This provided Yar Muhammad an opportunity to conspire against Syed Ahmad and to secure the support of many Sardars. A fierce battle was fought at Zaida in which Yar Muhammad was killed. But this did not resolve the problem. The disarray created by the Sardars caused a widespread confusion. Many of the other Khans who had allied themselves with the cause had ultimately deserted.[26]

Balakot : The defeat and the death of Painda Khan of Hazara who had entered into an alliance with the Sikhs and the reversals in the Battle of Phulra made the Sikhs change their tactics. On the one hand they concentrated their forces against the Mujahidin and on the other made moves for negotiations A time schedule for talks was set. Faqir Azizuddin and Wazir Singh were to participate on their behalf, but the proposed talks ended in a deadlock. Meanwhile Sultan Muhammad of Peshawar waged a war to avenge the death of his brother, Yar Muhammad Khan. A violent battle was fought at Toru in which the Sardars were once again defeated. But Sultan Muhammad was pardoned and restored to his position even against the advice of many well wishers. The apprehension that he would turn back to his promises was not unfounded. Taking advantage of the discontent aroused by the Sardars against the enforcement of the laws of Shariah. Sultan Muhammad conspired and killed all the officers working for the Syed.[27]

This incident caused a great setback and obliged him to decide to mobolize his efforts against the enemy in Hazara and Kashmir. In 1831 A D. he made Balakot his headquarters which was protected on three sides by mountain ridges and was considered to be a safe place. The two main entrances to Balakot were guarded, but the arrangement proved inadequate. Some of the local leaders conspired against the Mujahidin and sent to the Sikh General Sher Singh, some strategic information. Sher Singh marched on to Balakot and stormed the Mujahidin. The fateful moment had arrived, but undeterred by the mighty force of the enemy and in spite of being comparatively small

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 553-54. 27. *Ibid.*, pp. 595-96.

in number they fearlessly fought the trained and well-equipped Sikh army. It was a fierce and desperate battle in which six hundred (600) Mujahidin were killed. Syed Ahmad and his valiant lieutenant, Shah Ismail fought till the last drop of their blood. The curtain to the long struggle was then drawn and fell in the grim battle the valiant freedom fighters whose memory will always be cherished.[28]

The contemporary forces working against the muslims rejoiced at the outcome of the battle. The movement received a serious set-back, but the honesty of purpose with which Syed Ahmad Shaheed trained and inspired his followers did not let the struggle die. His mission was carried on against all odds and it continued until the muslims were able to rediscover themselves by establishing Pakistan.[29]

Shah Ismail Shaheed : Although the story of the movement revolves round Syed Ahmad Shaheed, the saerifices of many other leaders of the movement cannot be minimised. They threw themselves to fight for the cause and lost every thing. Prominent among them were Maulvi Abdul Hai and Shah Ismail Shaheed. The story of the movement would be incomplete without acknowledging their contribution and sacrifice.[30]

Shah Ismail Shaheed who was a grandson of Shah Waliullah and was an effective orator and good scholar, possessed all the qualities of a practical man. He wielded both pen and sword with equal facility. He was a good general and most of the battles fought under his command met with success.[31]

He compiled *Sirate Mustaqeem* with the help of Maulvi Abdul Hai, but his most important contribution is his *Taqwiyatul Islam* which he wrote in Urdu.[32]

This short discourse on the struggle of the Mujahideen revealed that disunity, lust for small gains and personal enmity have always caused disorder resulting in humiliation and defeat ; whereas unity and sincerity of purpose brought victories and laurels, and this lesson which we have learnt from this episode of our history can go a long way to lead us to greater gains in life.

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28. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 597-600.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-37.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*

PART II

The Advent of the English
The War of Independence
The Aligarh Movement
The Khilafat Movement
Pakistan Movement
Emergence of Pakistan

CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF THE ENGLISH

European Settlements : The story of the English occupation of India is the story of the East India Company. It was founded in England on December 31, 1606 A.D. to trade with the East, chiefly in spices and set up factories in the East Indies (modern Indonesia). But the Dutch who had already established their authority in the islands did not permit any rival European power to share the trade. This prompted them to turn to the mainland of India as an alternate device. In its early endeavours the company succeeded in establishing only a few factories on the Indian coast extending from Surat on the Western Ghat to the Fort William in Bengal. Their chief settlements were in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta where trade flourished and the company prospered. This attracted many young English adventures to join the service of the company to improve their own economic standard.[1]

The eighteenth century in India was a period of anarchy. Successive political upheavals in the absence of a strong central government made conditions chaotic and unlivable. This provided the East India Company a good opportunity to gain strength in their settlements and push out its rivals. The last European challenge to their interest in India was Dupleix, the govenor-general of the French settlements in India. But the profit in business supremacy at sea, diplomacy and correct estimate of the political situation in India helped them outbid the French who were finally driven out by Clive.[2]

1. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-83.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 383-92.

When no rival European power was left on the scene, the English took advantage of the unsettled conditions of India and consolidated themselves politically. They cleverly played one local ruler against the other and conquered India with the might of India. They demonstrated a great diplomatic skill and employed improved arms with a better knowledge of the art of warfare. The Indian rulers at last fell a victim to their own intrigues. They were either forced to accept the authority of East India Company or were completely wiped off. This process of expansion of the British occupation of India continued in one form or the other. Kingdom after kingdom fell and then English pushed themselves ahead to succeed the Mughals. It was not uncommon that ruthless measures were adopted to extend their authority on the territories which were still under the control of an Indian ruler, either not conscious of the game or helpless to defend himself. The political storm that hang on the country in 1857 A.D. only helped them complete the process of a political and military changeover. When in 1858 A.D. the storm against the authority of the East India Company subsided they found that lifeless emperor confined to the Red Fort could become a gathering force of revivalism and endanger their authority. It was, therefore, considered necessary to abolish the institution of keeping a titular emperor. Consequently they banished Bahadur Shah to Rangoon and succeeded to the Mughals in power and authority.[3]

THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL

The disintegration of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century gave way to a long struggle for political supremacy. Some of the powerful Muslim governors succeeded in establishing their independent authority. The emperor did not have any choice, but to recognise them. Asaf Jah in Deccan, Saadat Khan in Oudh and Murshid Quli Khan in Bengal (including Bihar and Orissa) were among the powerful governors who found the provincial dynastic rules. The Punjab was first annexed by Ahmad Shah Abdali and then passed over to the Sikhs ; while the Marathas hammered on to succeed the Mughals in power and authority.

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3. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-98.

Murshid Quli Khan and his Successors : In 1717 A.D. Murshid Quli Khan was appointed governor of Bengal. He kept the European intruders at a distance and cleverly set aside the concessions granted to them by Farrukh Siyar. When in 1727 A.D. he died he was succeeded by his son-in-law Shujauddin who had been able to establish a good administration in the province. But when on his death in 1739 A.D. his son Sarfraz Khan (grandson of Murshid Quli Khan) occupied the *masnad* of Bengal conditions got worsened. He struck coins in commemoration of the fall of Delhi to Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D. This incident helped Haji Ahmad, Alam Chand and Jagat Seth who were holding high offices in his administration to conspire against him. Haji Ahmad invited his brother Ali Vardi Khan who was a powerful deputy subedar of Bihar. In 1740 A D. Ali Vardi Khan attacked Bengal. Sarfraz Khan fought bravely but was killed. Now the way to power was clear. Ali Vardi Khan installed himself as the governor of Bengal without any further resistance and through his own method secured the approval of the emperor.[4]

Ali Vardi Khan : Ali Vardi Khan was a capable ruler and a miltary general. He fought against the Marhatta all his life and defeated them several times, but they did not cease attacking Bengal, weary and exhausted and under very bad circumstances he negotiated with them for peace by promising the payment of a large amount of money.[5]

Ali Vardi Khan had good relations with the East India Company and whenever he needed money he extracted from them on the pretext that whosoever earned out of trade and business in the provinces must pay for its defence. In 1748 A.D. he made them pay a sum of more than one lakh rupees for harassing the local dealers. He did not allow the European settlers of his territory to fight against each other.[6]

Siraj-ud-Daula : Ali Vardi Khan gathered around him many of his relations and placed them in positions of authority. Prominent among them were his brother-in-law, Mir Jafar and his two nephews and sons-in-law, Nawazish Muhammad Khan and Zainuddin Muhammad. When he died in 1756 A.D. his grandson Siraj-ud-Daula, son

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 377-43. 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

6. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.* pp. 343-48.

of Zaindudin succeeded him on the *masnad* of Bengal. But the new Nawab soon discovered that his closest relatives, particularly Mir Jafar, were hostile to him.[7]

Mir Jafar conspired with Shaukat Jang of Purnia, who raised his claim to the *masnad* of Bengal. Siraj-ud-Daula planned to subdue the rebellion by marching on the stronghold of Shaukat Jang. But when he was about to leave for Purnia the news of the English disruption came and he was forced by circumstances to delay his departure Siraj-ud-Daula was not happy with the English because (*i*) they failed to offer to him even the traditional homage at the time of his succession ; (*ii*) gave asylum to Krishna Ballabh, son of Raja Ballabh accused of embezzlement : (*iii*) turned out from Calcutta his agent Narayandas and (*iv*) started fortifying Calcutta without his permission.[8]

These factors were enough to enrage him to view the situation seriously. He seized the Qasim Bazar Factory, marched on Calcutta and made the English surrender. But most of them managed to run away ; while the rest were taken prisoners. Omichand and Krishna Ballabh were brought before him but he treated them with utmost civility. Following the operative against the English he did not lose any time and rushed to Purnia where he defeated and killed Shaukat Jang, following which he secured the approval of the emperor for his gavernor-ship.[9]

Following the defeat at Calcutta when Drake fled, Howell was made the governor of Calcutta. He fabricated and spread the story of the "Blackhole massacre", which had been proved false on the basis of physical and historical evidence. The objective of spreading the story was to establish some grave excuse for further intrigues.[10]

The capture of Qasim Bazar and Calcutta horrified the English settlements in Madras. Clive and admiral Watson set out for Calcutta at the head of 800 European and Indian soldiers and succeeded in reoccupying Calcutta and Qasim Bazar. They were amazed to find out their merchandize intact, but instead of reacting favourably to this good gesture they plundered the town freely, Siraj-ud-Daula

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 348-50. 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-51. 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-55.
10. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-53.

addressed a letter to Watson to stop it. But this did not produce any fruitful result.

In December, 1756 A.D. Clive, Watson and Eyre Coote reappeared with well equipped troops and a fleet of seven warships to march on Calcutta. Clive took the initiative, captured Calcutta and declared war on the Nawab who was at that time a little disturbed by the news of the entry of Ahmad Shah Abdali into Delhi. He negotiated peace with the English through Omichand. According to the agreement the Nawab promised to compensate the losses, restore the concessions granted to the emperor, allow them to refortify Calcutta, give them the right of free trade in Bengal and accept Watts to reside at Murshidabad. And thus the treaty of Alinagar was signed on February 9, 1757.[11]

Siraj-ud-Daula had not only to face the external enemies, but also the enemies inside his court. Mir Jafar was the chief conspirator and Jagat Seth, Rai Durlabh and Yar Lutf were his principal associates. Watts who was residing at Murshidabad for this purpose gave the plot a formal shape. According to the terms of agreement mutually reached by the conspirators Siraj-ud-Daula was to be deposed and Mir Jafar installed as the Nawab. In return the new Nawab would recognise the English sovereignty over Calcutta, grant land for the maintenance of the English army and keep an English resident at Murshidabad.[12]

Battle of Plassey : The English now accused Siraj-ud-Daula that he had violated the treaty by protecting the French. On this pretext in June 1757 A.D. Clive marched Murshidabad and encamped at Lakh Bagh. The Nawab came out with his army to defend his position and this signaled the beginning of the battle of Plassey. The Nawab's army encircled the enemy and increased its pressure. But unluckily on June 23, 1757 A.D. a storm of rain burst out and swamped the battle ground. This put his artillery out of order. Following which his two trusted generals, Mir Madan and Bahadur Khan were killed. The loss of these generals frustrated the Nawab and disappointed, disgusted and confused as he was he did not know how to build up his defence against the enemy. And then came out

11. *Ibid.* 12. *Ibid.*

Mir Jafar to play his treacherous role. He showed his allegiance to the Nawab and promised him to put all his weight on his side, but secretly sent a message to Clive to make an attack on the Nawab's army without any loss of time.[13]

Clive made good use of the situation and attacked the confused army of the Nawab, which fought bravely, but when Mir Jafar and his forces withdraw, defeat seemed to have been its fate. In utter disgust and under bad counsel, instead of encouraging his troops, the Nawab fled to Murshidabad and was cousequently caught and murdered by Miran on July 2, 1757 A.D. The battle was over and the treachery of Mir Jafar provided a solid ground for the East India Company to succeed the Great Mughals. He had not only betrayed the cause of Siraj-ud-Daula but had also put an end to the Muslim supremacy in India. All this is true but apart from the treachery of Mir Jafar and the intrigues against the Nawab the fact that three thousand European soldiers defeated a large Bengali army, cannot be denied. It was indeed a victory of good planning, strategy, discipline and superior arms.[14]

Treaty of Allahabad : The history of Bengal following the death of Siraj-ud-Daula is the story of intrigues and conspiracies. The English played up Mir Jafar, Mir Qasim and many others to establish their military, political and economic authority. In 1760 A.D. Mir Jafar was deposed and his son-in-law Mir Qasim was made the Nawab, but in 1763 A.D. he was pushed out of Bengal and Mir Jafar was once again installed as the Nawab. This internal intrigue went on for some time, but when Mir Qasim and Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh were defeated at Buxar in 1764 A.D., the English supremacy was extended further West and the treaty of Allahabad was signed in 1765 A D. According to the terms of the treaty Shuja-ud-Daula surrendered to the East India Company part of his territory including Allahabad and paid Rs. 50 lakh as indemnity whereas the emperor Shah Alam II granted them the right of the Diwani of Bengal and agreed to pass on their protection at a pension of 26 lakh.[15]

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13. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-59.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 359-71. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 673-75.

THE ENGLISH IN THE SOUTH

In the Deccan the English got firmly settled at Bombay and Madras and held few other coastal dependencies. The triumph in Bengal made them shift their operational headquarters to Calcutta, but they did not abandon their interest in the Deccan. They were looking forward only for an opportune moment to strike.[16]

Although Ahmad Shah Abdali shattered the Maratha force in the north, they were still powerful in the Deccan and were measuring their sword with the Nizam of Hyderabad and Haider Ali of Mysore. It is interesting to note that in these conflicts the powerful Indian rivals were the losers and a comparatively insignificant party of the English adventurers harvested the largest benefit.[17]

Haider Ali and Mysore : The history of Mysore in the eighteenth century was really the history of Haider Ali and his son Fath Ali commonly known as Tipu Sultan. Haider Ali was daring and industrious and rose from obscurity to prominence through his hard work. He fought against the foreign domination and built up an anti-British foreign policy. Although he did not succeed in his endeavours to drive out the English from Indian soil, it helped him demonstrate his determination to fight against injustice any where and in any form.[18]

Haider Ali was born in 1727 A.D. at Sira in Mysore. After the death of his father, Fath Mohammad who was a small army officer, he worked hard and rose to the command of 200 foot soldiers and 50 horses in the service of Nanjaraj. In 1755 A.D. Nanjaraj appointed him Faujdar of Dindigul to check Nawab Mohammad Ali of Carnatic and the East India Company. Haider Ali now increased his force to 1,500 horses, 3,000 infantry, 2,000 peons with four guns and employed the French to train his soldiers and look after his arsenal.[19]

In 1757 A.D. the Marthas invaded Mysore and it was only the quickness of Haider Ali that saved the state. In 1758 A.D. when the Marathas once again invaded Mysore and over-ran its principal towns, he recovered Channapaṭna and bribed ṭhem off. The Maraṭha

16. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-728.
17. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-426.
18. *Ibid.* 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 399-401.

attacks cost the state heavily and it required an extra-ordinary effort to stabilize the economy. Haider Ali strived hard to restore order and build up the shaken economy, but his own assistant, Khande Rao who had now become the Diwan created difficulties. Haider Ali maintain his own balance of judgement, made peace with the Marathas and forced the Raja and Khande Rao to surrender to his demand.[20]

Haider Ali pensioned off the incapable Raja and Khande Rao in prison where he later on died. Now he had the absolute power in his own hand and in spite of a few setbacks on account of the Maratha attacks on his territory, he had been able to expand his kingdom to 80,000 square miles.[21]

Maratha Attacks : The growing power of Haider Ali startled the Marathas. They made three invasions on his territory on one pretext or the other. Madhav Rao attacked and forced him to execute a treaty to his advantage. In their second attack the Marathas entered into an alliance with the Nizam, but before he could join them they invaded Mysore and induced Mir Ali Raza, the commander of Sira to desert Haider Ali. This had once again obliged him to negotiate a treaty, wherby he agreed to pay the Marathas Rs. 33 lakhs in return for the territories conquered by them. But neither side respected the terms of the treaty and in 1772 A.D. various Maratha chiefs in their joint-attack once again forced Haider Ali to conclude a humiliating peace.[22]

Haider Ali maintained good relations with the English and during the last Maratha attack he expected some aid from them, but in spite of their promises they tried to keep away from him. He sensed their game and realised that the day would not be far off, when they would prove a greater menace than the Marathas. But because of the military reverses, he had to wait for an opportune moment for any decisive action [23]

Following the humiliating treaty of 1772 A.D. conditions changed in the Maratha land. The assassination of Narayan Rao who

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 403-07,
21. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-05.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 405-10.
23. *Ibid.*

succeeded Madhav Rao, the installation of Raghunath Rao as Peshwa and the opposition of Nana Farnavis placed them in a position of disadvantage. Both Raghunath and Nana Farnavis wanted to make peace with Haider Ali but he reacted favourably towards Raghunath Rao and recognised him as the Peshwa ; and in return get back most of the territories he lost in the three Maratha attacks.[24]

The recognition of Raghunath enraged Nana Farnavis and he entered into an alliance with the Nizam against Haider Ali. The combined forces attacked his positions, but suffered a defeat. Nana Farnavis sent reinforcement for a fresh attack, but this too failed. Haider Ali recaptured many of his lost positions and established his authority between the rivers of Tungbhadra and Krishna.[25]

The English : In 1779 A.D. there came a turning point in the policy of Haider Ali. Now onwards he directed his energy to rout out the English influence which had been so far used against him.[26]

Haider Ali had close contacts with the French who trained his troops in the European method of warfare and continued to patronise them even after the collapse of the French power. But he was fully conscious of the situation and tried to maintain a balance and avoid to annoy the English. But he soon discovered that the British policy was based on their strong will to destroy him. They betrayed him on many occasions and had been openly hostile to him.[27]

First Mysore War : After several diplomatic hit and run tactics the English gathered considerable support against Haider Ali and a long drawn war started in 1767 A.D. In the beginning Haider Ali gained a few minor victories. But soon Col. Peach captured Warrangal and marched on Hyderabad to force the Nizam submitted to the pressure and agreed to condemn him as usurper and conspire with the Nairs. Meanwhile Col. Wood captured many places in Baramahal and the Nairs were instigated to rise in rebellion. Haider Ali was now left alone, but without losing his nerves he continued to put his pressure on the enemy, recaptured his lost territories, crossed Carnatic and knocked the English settlement and stronghold of

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 410-11. 25. *Ibid.*
26. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-11.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

Madras. Beaten in their diplomacy and intrigue the English on April 4, 1769 begged for peace. Haider Ali was in a position to crush them once for all, but he showed generosity which was a big political mistake.[28]

Second Mysore War : Haider Ali pursued a guarded policy to keep some sort of alliance with the English for some time, but events after confirmed that their hostility was mounting up. They avoided to help him against the Marathas in 1770 A.D. captured the French settlement of Mahe, incited rebellion inside his kingdom and violated the terms of agreement. This was enough to offend Haider Ali who conveyed in plain words his grievances to the Madras government, which were completely ignored.[29]

These events led Haider Ali to conclude that the English know only the language of force. The political situation in Deccan at that time helped him to bring the Nizam and the Marathas into an alliance against the English. But ultimately it did not work and he alone had to go to fight the English. He moved to Carnatic with an army of 90,000 men and sent Tipu with 10,000 men to check Col. Baillie. Haider Ali caused disaster to the English army fighting under various commanders. But his death in 1782 did not give him enough time to inflict a final wound on his enemy. Thus came to an end the career of a remarkable leader who was brave, honest and courageous. It has been rightly put that "the wound he inflicted on the English were deeper than those he had received himself".[30]

Tipu Sultan : Tipu Sultan succeeded his father and as brave and warlike as his father he continued his efforts to take the war to a conclusive end. The English had succeeded in violating him from his possible allies and engaged him in a number of fierce battles. But Tipu moved fearlessly from one front to another helping and reinforcing his generals. The loss of Manglore grieved him, but he avenged it. Campbell and Macleod were halted and the offensive operations of Col. Fullarton were checked.[31]

It was now clear that the English had failed in their attempt to force Tipu submit. His strong defence strategy and effective opera-

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 414-16. 29. *Ibid*.
30. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-24.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 433-39.

tions left the English with no choice but to make peace with him. Since the Company had undergone heavy losses in these wars and it was now evident that it could no longer bear the heavy expenses of the war, the governor of Madras, negotiated a peace agreement and the Treaty of Manglore was then signed in March 1784 A.D. which ensured the mutual return of the captured territories and the prisoners of war.[32]

Third Mysore War : The treaty of Manglore failed to normalise the broken relations. Tipu had a long and bitter experience of the English diplomacy and knew that war was inevitable.[33]

Tipu wanted to drive the English out of the country. But the Nizam and the Marathas were blind to the danger. In 1784 A.D. the Nizam and the Marathas agreed to attack Mysore jointly. But since the Marathas were already involved in the rebellion of Venkat Rao against the Sultan, Nana Farnavis was not in a position to open a new front. When the shacking news of the arrest of Venkat Rao was conveyed to the Nana the situation was altogether changed and hurriedly he went to win over the Nizam and the English to help him re-establish his prestige and a joint command was established.[34]

The combined forces marched on Mysore, but the English avoided direct participation. Forced by circumstances the Sultan made a major offensive at Adhoni but Haripant and Mughal Khan were made to retreat. The Sultan made a further daring move and encamped near Kalkeri and kept them harassing. Since in their own diplomacy the English did not join the war, the Marathas and the Nizam were forced to sign a treaty in which they recognized the sovereignty of Tipu Sultan and agreed to address him as Nawab Tipu Sultan Fath Ali Khan in return of several strongholds that fell into the hand of the Sultan.[35]

In 1790 A.D. the Marathas, the Nizam and the English once again entered into a triple alliance. The attack on the Raja of Travancor who was hostile to the Sultan, was made an excuse for the war. Lord Cornwallis (*i*) himself took the command, but the Sultan succeeded in holding his position. The combined forces numbering

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32. *Ibid.*, pp. 437-44. 33. *Ibid.* 34. *Ibid.*, pp. 445-46.
35. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 448-58.

52,000 besieged Seringapatam and made a night attack. The fighting continued, but a definite victory was not in sight. Tipu Sultan succeeded in securing his position from a total collapse, but he knew it was not easy to hold it long.[36]

Following the besiege of Seringapatam a humiliating treaty was signed on February 24, 1792 A D. at Seringapatam. The Sultan was made to surrender half of his kingdom, pay a sum of Rs. 3.30 crore, grant independence to Goorg and Dindigul, release all the prisoners and handover to the English two of his sons as hostages.[37]

Fourth Mysore War : Hard hit by the term of the treaty the Sultan tried to rebuild his kingdom. He made earnest efforts to secure help from outside but he did not get any positive reply from Sultan Salim of Turkey and Napoleon Bounaparte of France.[38]

When Wellesley was made the governor-general of the British territories in India, he adopted a policy of aggression. Tipu Sultan sensed the danger and quietly started strengthening his armed ability. This strenthening of forces by Tipu Sultan startled the English and provided Wellesley a good excuse for attack. He knew that if the Sultan was allowed time, he would soon revive himself. He, therefore, decided to take a direct offensive without allowing any time. As on previous occasions this time the Marathas and the Nizam entered into an alliance under the cover of the subsidiary system. He entrusted General Harris, the task of the final destruction of Tipu Sultan. The Sultan was forced to encounter attacks from all sides. He made some bold moves to defend himself but was defeated at Sadaser and Malavelley.[39]

The Sultan fought bravely and demonstrated courage, but the treachery of his own generals brought disaster to his brilliant planning and strategy. A breach was caused in the wall through the treachery of his own men including his trusted Diwan Mir Sadiq Ali

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36. Lord Cornwallis was the same British general who surrendered to General Washington at York Town in 1872 A.D. in the American war of independence.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 459-60.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 460.

39. Codemning the treacherous role of Mir Jafar of Bengal and Mir Sadiq of Deccan Iqbal wrote :

جعفرِ از بنگال و صادق از دکن　　ننگِ آدم ننگِ دین ننگِ وطن

who was one of the chief conspirators. The English had successfully made their way and the fateful moment had come, Tipu Sultan arrived at the scene, but before the breach could be repaired, English shelled him from all sides. He fell fighting and thus fell the most dreadful foe of the English in Indian history.[40]

In him India in general and the Muslims in particular lost a brilliant general, wise statesman and a valliant warrior who had above every thing the cause for which he lived and sacrificed his life. He could have averted all his mishaps had he not been sabotaged by his own men and by the Nizam and the Maratha who were in turn destroyed and subordinated by the English.

Tipu Sultan died for freedom and fairplay——a cause that lives in the heart of every individual today and so long as this cause lives Tipu Sultan will live. Iqbal has rightly said : "His name is more bright than the Sun and Moon and his grave is more alive than any of us as living human souls".

HAIDER ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

Haider Ali : Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were the two glowing states on the Indian horizon against the darkness that had persisted for a long time. Haider Ali rose from a small position to the highest and built up the kingdom of Mysore with his own blood. He introduced an effective system of administration, revenue, finance and police. The central government was run efficiently with the help of ministers and secretaries. He modified the provincial administration here and there, but generally retained its old features. Whereas the Wadeyars were retained he systematically destroyed the polygers.[41]

He had a regular army comprising 80,000 soldiers under his own command. He employed French trainers to train his army in the art of warfare and used most modern weapons. The irregulars in his army were the chelas recruited from prisoners of war and the peons from the cultivators whose chief function was to help the army. Haider Ali also tried to build up a naval force by employing Moplas of Malabar who were excellent navigators.[42]

40. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 460-64.

41. *Ibid.*, pp 399-434. Wadeyar were the (*i*) Rajas of Mysore (*ii*) Polygers were hereditory chiefs collecting revenue and buying.

42. *Ibid.*

Haider Ali was sharp intelligent, but was a tolerant ruler who had successfully demonstrated his skili by maintaining a predominantly Hindu kingdom on the principles of justice and fairplay.

Tipu Sultan : Tipu Sultan was born on November 21, 1750 A.D. in Mysore, 43 years after the death of Aurangzeb. His name was Fath Ali Khan, but he was commonly known as Tipu Sultan after Tipu Mastan, a saint of Arkot. Haider Ali brought him up with great care and gave him good education. He could speak Persian and Urdu and had equal command over the local Kannadi language. He learnt the art of warfare with the help of experienced military generals. At the age of 17 he was inducted to practical military experience. Henceforward he participated in several battles and helped his father at times of adverse military reversals and learnt from him perseverence, patience quick decision making and magnanimity and courage.[43]

Administration : Throughout his career as the ruler of Mysore he did not get sufficient time to use his talents for the warfare of his people. But in spite of his military pre-occupations, intrigues and external dangers he devoted a good deal of his time and energy to the toning up of his administration.

He retained the central administration of his father with necessary changes, but raised the number of departments from 18 to 99. The heads of each department or ministry was called "Mir", as "Mir-i-Khazain" and "Mir-i-Yam" etc. The Kotwal for maintaining justice were important positions under his administration. Usually a Hindu Pandit was associated with the court to interpret the Hindu law. The Sultan, himself a good Muslim, enforced the law of Shariah to make the Muslims better Muslims.[44]

Revenue : The land was the chief source of revenue which yielded an annual income of over two crore rupees. The land administration was strengthened by reducing the powers of the polygers. Since the occupancy rights on the land were hereditary, the Sultan abolished the middleman and brought the cultivators in direct contact with the government. The amils and the other state officials were made to

43. Freedom Movement, *op. cit*, pp. 427-32.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-75.

work for the peasants directly. This made some of the polygers flee from Mysore. The Sultan had a strict discipline and would not allow any of his officials to accept any type of gratifications.[45]

Army : The army of the Sultan had eleven wings which included infantry, military engineering, cavalary, ordinance, commissariat, pastures and meadows, pay establishment, Navy Marine engineering, military store and inspectorate. The Bakhshi was the master of the pay rolls. In each Qushun (قشون) a Persian and Urdu knowing mutasaddi was appointed. The Sultan maintained a big army, but the size of the army changed from time to time. His navy was stationed at four places, Jamalabad (Manglore), Wajidabad (Biskoraj) and Majidabad (Sada Shir Garh). His Hukmnama of 1796 contains useful and detailed informations about the organization and working of the navy.[46]

Commerce and Industry : He was keenly interested in the development of industry and commerce and for this purpose employed foreign experts and requested many advanced countries to send technicians and craftsmen. There were factories and centres that produced arms and ammunition, cutlery knives, scissors, watches, gold plated paper, sugar, textiles, carpets and glass wares.[47]

Coins : He introduced new coins after big names in Islam as Siddiqi (gold) Faruqi (gold) Usmani (copper) and Haidary (copper) etc. and a new system of calendar changing the names of Hindu months, but retaining the sixty years cycle.[48]

Education : Tipu Sultan was interested in education and learning. Although he did not get adequate time to introduce any new thing in the field of education, he maintained the old system vigorously and patronised learning and scholarship.[49]

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45. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-81.
46. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-75.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 477-81.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 482-84.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 428-29, 484-86.

CHAPTER II

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1857

The year 1857 marks the receding and culminating point of foreign domination of India and is significant for two important historical incidents. It witnessed the outbreak of the War of independence which brought bloodshed to almost every home, but finally succeeded to the better planning of the war strategy of the foreign rulers. This caused the final collapse of the Mughal Empire, which totally eclipsed when the last Mughal emperor was banished to Rangoon and the sovereignty of the Indian rule of the East India Company passed over to the British crown. The war which was initially fought between the British ruler of India and the Hindu and Muslim soldiers in the English army ultimately spread over the length and breadth of the country. The civil population joined the war due to their own legitimate grievances against the foreign rule.[1]

Causes : The causes of the outbreak of the war in 1857 were manifold. These were political, religious, social and economic, which were simmering underneath for some time. But the outburst was as much sudden as it started without any prior planning and coordination. The cause was just, but the means to achieve the objective were poor. It was not so easy to outbid the contenders who had in their control a sufficiently wide area of the sub-continent and had good knowledge of the art of warfare with better equipped modern armaments.[2]

Religious and Social : The rapid spread of the Western civilization coupled with the policy of proselytization and certain social and

1. Freedom Movement, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-98.
2. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 772-75.

economic measures adopted by the East India Company agitated and inflamed the sentiments of the people. The responsible English officials in the service of the company, collaborated with the christian missonaries who made no secret to their design of anglicizing the Indian people for "they have possessed them for long."[3]

The general belief that the British were not concerned with the religious beliefs of the local population was untrue. There are several evidences which testify that they were fondly carrying out a policy of diffusing christian thought throughout the length and breadth of India. This policy was wilfully pursued with the help of christian missionaries in India. Laws were made to protect the rights of a convert to his ancestral property besides being induced to many other temptations of wealth and prestige in the society.[4]

The distribution of the greased cartridges among the Indian soldiers injured their religious sentiments and led to the triggering off the voilence. The danger of being converted to christianity and permanent enslavement was so gravely felt that no individual found himself safe from being forced to change his belief. This type of machination was alien to their past experience under the Muslim rulers of India, who had the power and the means to execute such a policy during the long period of their rule. But bound by the laws of Shariah (شریعہ) they desisted from any forcible conversion and let the time take its own course. Had they done it, no trace of Hinduism would have been left on the Indian soil.[5]

Political and Economic. Although Bahadur Shah Zafar, the titular Mughal emperor, was living on the British charity and his authority was confined only to the Red Fort (لال قلعہ) of Delhi, there was still some magic attached to the Mughal rule. The memory of the tolerant government and the freedom of religion which the Indian people enjoyed under the Mughal was charished. When Dalhousie made his decision to abolish the royal titles and the prerogatives of the emperor and move the family from the Red Fort to the Qutub Sahib near Delhi, it injured the popular sentiments and created uneasiness.[6]

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3. Sharp, Selection from Educational Records.
4. Daud, S.T, Unpublished manuscript, pp. 1-5 (Chapter on 1857).
5. *Ibid.* 6. *Ibid.*

The kingdom of Oudh was treacherously annexed and its 80,000 strong army was disbanded. This caused a grave political unrest in the country. But Oudh was not alone to fall a victim to the British diplomacy, there were several other Indian rulers who were subjected to similar machination and were forced out to live in obscurity. The policy of annexation had thus created more problems than what it was expected to resolve.[7]

The political confusion, economic stalemate and military oppression under the British rule engineered a flaring up of the violence. The ordinary sepoy and the Indian rank holders in the British army were not satisfied with their salary and terms and conditions of service. Whereas the civil administration was equally subjected to indiscrimination and the general earning of the poor masses was extremely low.[8]

The muslims were getting increasingly embittered against the repressive political measures taken against them. There was a growing consciousness to rediscover themselves and regain the grandeur of the past. The revivalist movement which was initially started by Shah Waliullah and was followed by Shah Abdul Aziz, Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed provided the necessary momentum. They now realized the horror of the rising alien power and the abject subordination to which they were wilfully thrown in.

The Indian rulers who were gradually incapacitated to have left any sting, which could be used against the English domination, started groaning and showed signs of resentment. The growing discontentment together with a deep sense of vengeance against the foreign rule fomented hatred and accelerated the pace of the gathering storm. The standard of revolt was raised to recover the land from the foreign userpers. Prominent among those who led the movement in 1857 A.D. were Maulvi Ahmadullah, Maulvi Ahmad Shah Faizabadi, Nana Saheb, Tantia Topi, Maulvi Azimullah, Rani of Jhansi, Kunwar Singh, Feroz Shah and many others.[9]

The earliest signs of conflict appeared in January and March 1857 A.D. at Dum Dum and Barrackpore respectively. The Indian

7. *Ibid.* Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 711-83.

8. Daud, S.T., unpublished manuscript, Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 772-75.

9. *Ibid.*

soldiers refused to use the greased cartridges. This enraged the English officers in command, who summarily dismissed them in a court martial. The situation seemed to have been well under control and there appeared to have been no sign of alarm from the rest of the troopers. It was, therefore, generally felt that the punishment had its own reward. But in the long run it was found that it did not help the tension subside ; it had rather heightened it up.[10]

The tamed acceptance of the dismissal by the troops made the Government confident to take further repressive measures and force the troops to use the same catridges or in defiance face the consequences of dismissal. As such the greased cartridges were distributed at other military barracks. The troops stationed at Meerut refused to use them and when in defiance of the orders some 85 soldiers were imprisoned and humiliated the revolt began. The soldires in their fury made the English officers commanding the troops first target of the war and marched off to Delhi to restore and re-establish the Mughal rule in India.[11]

Soon after the start of the war about 80,000 soldiers from Delhi, Nimuch, Nasirabad and Ambala joined the Meerut troops and drove the English from the royal capital of the Mughals. In the sudden outburst the rule of the company disappeared from the vast territories of upper India now known as Haryana, Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) Madhya Pradesh and Behar. Only the strong forts of Agra and Allahabad built by emperor Akbar remained in the British possession. The confederating troops occupied Delhi in the name of Behadur Shah Zafar and ceaselessly worked to restore the power and authority that was lost. A new administration under the military leadership was set up. But it proved to be a temporary phase. The lack of coordination among the freedom forces, the existence of the operating British spies and conspirators in the metropolis, the scientific telecommunication system in the hands of the enemy and arms superiority of the British forces, ultimately swang the balance in favour of the alien power which was mustering its strength in and around the freed territory.[12]

The remaining English troops at Meerut and Ambala gathered

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10. *Ibid.*
11. Daud, S.T., unpublished manuscripts.
12. *Ibid.*

their wits and successfully defied the royal troops for several months. In the meantime John Lawrence sent reinforcement from the Punjab, made of chiefly S kh forces. This provided the necessary strength and striking power to the British troops engaged with the freedom fighters. The English proved superior in arm and stratagic planning. They ultimately succeeded in blowing up the Kashmiri gate. A desperate fighting broke out but the forces fighting for a good cause with almost no strategic planning were finally defeated and the city was trampled under the feet of the foreign enemy. The old emperor abandoned his ancestral fort and took refuge in the tomb of emperor Humayun, close to the Nizamuddin Aulia.[13]

The encounter was great and each side suffered heavy losses. The English lost John Nicholson and many other important men in the army. But as soon as they regained the control of the city, Delhi was sacked mercilessly and thousands of people were massacred indiscriminately. Captain Hodson captured the emperor for his hiding and humiliated him. Mirza Mughal, Mirza Sultan and Mirza Abu Bakar were brutally murdered and their severed heads were presented to the aging emperor in confinement. Even the European authors had to accept that "a more brutal or a more unnecessary outrage was never committed."[14] It was to this cruel episode that JOSH MALIHABADI had retorted the English in one of his most popular poems "Saudagron Se Khitab" سوداگروں سے خطاب :

[15] تیسرے فاقے میں اِک گرتے ہوئے کو تھامنے
کس کا سر لائے تھے تم شاہ ظفر کے سامنے

Rohilkhand: In Rohilkhand the English were completely thrown out and the initial successes led to believe that the English rule in India was gone. Bareilly was the chief stronghold of resurgence. Nawab Bahadur Khan, a grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan established his administration which functioned well for about a year. He gave protection to scores of people who opposed the British rule including Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Baji Rao II. But eventually the

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13. Daud, S.T. Unpublished manuscript. 14. *Ibid.*

15. On the third day of starvation
To hold up the drooping spirit
Whose heads did you present
To emperor Zafar ?

English army succeeded in shattering the liberating forces with the help of the Gurkha army and other allies. Rohilkhand fell and the British authority was once again restored.[16]

Kanpur : In Kanpur Nana Sahib led the local forces and incapacitated the British garrison. A large number of Englishmen was killed and their bodies thrown into a well, most probably in vengeance of the atrocities committed by the English and Sikh forces at Banaras and Allahabad. But finally Neil Havelock and Colin Campbell outmaneured him and the revengeful English army plundered the city and massacred innumerable people without any discrimination. Kanpur witnessed one of the most horrible scenes of atrocities committed by the British forces during and after the war. Nana Sahib moved to Rohilkhand, but when Bareilly fell he fled to Nepal and died in obscurity.[17]

Oudh (Lucknow) : The forces in Oudh put up a strong fight against the occupying British army. But the administration set up under the capable leadership of Hazrat Mahal (حضرت محل) succeeded in raising a strong army that inflicted several defeats on the British forces and pushed them back to take refuge in their residency. But when Colin Campbell attacked Lucknow with the help of the Gurkha Army sent by Jang Bahadur of Nepal, there came a turning point in the war. Since the army under Hazrat Mahal and her allies lacked in scientific arms and strategic war planning to defend itself and make counter attackes, it suffered several setbacks and finally wiped off. Hazrat Mahal wandered about as a fugitive and died in Nepal.[18]

Bundelkhand and Central India : In this region Rani Lakhshmi Bai of Jhansi built up the resistance and led the revolt. When reinforced by Tantia Topi she carried the war to its formidable end. She fought against all odds, but finally fell fighting in one of the hectic campaigns of Sir Hugh Rose. With her death the Southern most leg of the revolt was crumbled down. Tantia Topi was chased and when captured was put to death.[19]

Punjab : Troops in the Punjab were under the tight control of John Lawrence and as such did not join the movement. But they were disarmed and a few of them were put to death. The Sikhs in particu-

16. Daud, S.T., *op. cit.* 17. *Ibid.* 18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*

lar remained loyal to the English and participated in various campaigns to assist them in their effort to regain control over the liberated land.[20]

Consequences : The attempt to push out the British and restore the Mughal rule miserably failed and turned into a bloody episode. Avenging the atrocities alleged to have been committed by the freedom fighters, the English ruthlessly slaughtered millions of innocent people. The vengeance was especially directed towards the muslims who invariably fell a victim to their brutal atrocities. This has been evidenced by the English writers themselves. Most of the responsible Englishmen had rather boastfully recorded in their writings their act of indiscriminate human killing.[21]

The muslims who had spearheaded the movement and appeared to have posed a potential danger for other subsequent movements were the chief target of revenge. They were malligned, villified and brutaly assaulted. These acts of barbarity and in discriminate human killing were innumerable. Many of the responsible Englishmen had rather boastfully woven around their tales of horror, sufficient moral and legal justification. Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur, Meerut, Agra, Barielly and many other centres of revolt witnessed the "execution of the natives" without any justification.[22]

The ill planned armed conflict had in the long run struck hard the social, economic and political life of the muslims in the country. The end of the hostilities drew the final curtain on the symbol of the muslim rule. Generally the muslims were humiliated and their cultural institutions were destroyed. They were either rounded up and held in captivity or driven out of their home and land on the information given by the *Mukhbirs* (Informers) mostly working under Hindu officials. The action was always severe even on trivial information. To justify the cruelty and barbarism James Outram outlined the episode of 1857 a big conspiracy of the muslims to overthrow the British Power.[23]

However, the result of the war of 1857 A.D. were not wholly unfavourable. In the proclamation of 1858 A.D. which was read at Allahabad on the bank of river Jamna not far away from the fort of

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20. *Ibid.* 21. *Ibid.* 22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*

Akbar, the Indian grievances were recognized and it was made abundantly clear that the Government would :[24]

(1) follow a policy of non-interference with the religious beliefs of the people,
(2) maintain all treaty obligations,
(3) desist from extending territorial possession,
(4) guarantee the right of appointment in public service,
(5) give due regard to ancestral property, ancient rites, usages and customs.

It is true that the guarantees given in the Proclamation were not followed in letter and spirit. Several instances can be quoted where they were bypassed, set aside or completely ignored. The muslims in particular suffered heavily. Their jagirs and properties were confiscated and they were made to run from the pole to the post for survival. But still there were some encouraging movements which were made to restore confidence among the masses and to give stability to the administration. The control and management of the Government of India passed over to the British Crown. The rule of the East India Company and the gross mismanagement of its affairs were brought to an end. The distinction between the European and Indian soldiers were abolished and the Indian army was re-organized accordingly. In order to dispense justice High Courts were established at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad. The universities already established at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were improved and developed. The Executive Council of the Governor General was extended to include half of the nominees of four major provinces and it was laid down that not less than half of the members were to be non-official.[25]

24. *Ibid.* 25. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Background : The movement led by Syed Ahmed Shaheed rattled sword against the enemy with courage and fortitude, but failed to obtain any substantial gains. The heavy casualties in the final assault at Balakot resulted in the loss of men, material and territory including the precious lives of Syed Ahmed Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed. The enemy rejoiced and the well wishers foundered. It was indeed a great setback that caused dejection among the muslim masses, and was, therefore, followed by a period of unusual lull until the military outburst of 1857 ravenged the whole country. But unfortunately the new struggle designed to have been launched to restore the political and military glory of the Indian Muslims, miserably failed to achieve its objectives and had only speeded up the process of drawing the final curtain.[1]

This failure shook the social, economic and political life of the Indian people in general and the muslims in particular. The muslims found themselves out-witted by the Hindus who associated themselves with the rising political power and made living difficult for the Indian muslims. The usual recruitment in the civil and military administration of the country was made impossible. The Hindus were now a community of crafty businessmen who flourished under the patronage of their newly

1. Chapter VI, Part I, Supra.

found masters. The political superemacy, military leadership and economic independence of the Indian Muslims was completely shattered. The society as such had disintegrated and the mighty empires which had hardly any parallel in the contemporary world, yielded power to the new political and military adventurers operating under the guise of trade and commerce. The declining Mughal empire was replaced by the British colonial power which adopted planned repressive measures to bring down the muslims from the state of power to a state of nothingness. It was a trying moment for the Muslims. The Hindus were not only patronised to outbid the Muslims but were constantly encouraged to build up a new Hindu social order based on hatred against Islam and the Muslims.[2]

The neglect of the scientific pursuits in the land of Islam after centuries of power and wealth and the emergence of Europe from ignorance and poverty made the new western powers ambitious and crafty in their design to establish their political and military authority and to have a firm hold on the economic and material resources of the subject country. The aim was to channelize them to their own advantages and to intrigue out whatever force obstructed the spread of the European hold over the world. These intrigues and conspiracies had successfully played their role, but where they failed force was used rather ruthlessly.[3]

The failure in 1857 A.D. to drive away the British out of the country had, therefore, more menacing effect in the muslim than on other sections of the population in India. The British vengeance fell hard on them. The confiscation of property, the change in the language of administration, the introduction of English as the only medium of instruction under the new policy and many other political and military dislocations rendered the Muslims of India into a frustrated mass of people, with no destination in view, whereas their former Hindu subjects were making a headway in almost all directions.[4]

The Hindus in Bengal and in other parts of the country had by now developed competence in the English language. They acquired sufficiently good knowledge of the new political trends in Europe and the parliamentary form of government. This helped them gain employ-

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2. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-28 ; *Hayat-i-Javid*, pp. 906-07.
3. Part I Supra.
4. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-45.

ment in the Indian administration and move into the newly established colleges and universities to provide intellectual leadership for the young Hindus enrolling in large numbers. Many renowned Hindus like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Binkim Ghandra Chatterji gave a new identification to the Hindu society. This process of identification was followed by the Arya Samaj movement which characterised the Vedic period as the most advanced age in science and technology. The Arya Samaj movement had its headquarters at Lahore in the Punjab, which was a predominantly Muslim majority area. In due course of time it assumed a militant role against the Muslims, and won popularity among the Hindus by attacking the Prophet of Islam. While the verbal dual was being fought at the inteletctual plane a network of Dayanand schools and colleges which played a significant role in fanning hatred against the Muslims, were established throughout the country.[5]

Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan : Such was the time and such were the conditions when Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came forward to initiate a vigorous movement to restore the confidence the Indian muslim have lost in the political turmoil of the nineteenth centery. He wanted to instil in them a mental unity which would lead them to maturity of thought and purpose so that they might be inspired to establish a new social, economic and political order. He made Aligarh centre of the Muslim renuinassance and directed his energies to reform the Muslims ; hence the name Aligarh movement.[6]

He was by far the greatest muslim of his time. He was a man of letters, an educationist, a social reformer, a statesman, a political leader, a defender of Islam and a protector of the rights of the Indian muslims. As an author he developed a simple and effective style in Urdu prose, as a statesman he provided strength and endurance to identify the Muslim political thinking and as an educationist established the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental (M.A.O.) College which had ultimately developed into the Aligarh Muslim University.[7]

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who pioneered an educational campaign

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5. *Ibid.* ; Daud, S.T., *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

6. Aziz, M.A., *The Development and Reconstruction of University Education in Pakistan*, Chapter IV (Unpublished Thesis submitted to the University of London).

7. *Ibid.*, Daud, S.T., *op. cit.*, Chapter V.

among the Indian Muslims, was born in 1817 A.D. at Delhi and died in 1898 A.D. at Aligarh where he was buried in the great congregational mosque (Jamia Masjid) near the pavilion. He belonged to a family of moderate means with aristocratic traditions attached to the Mughal Court. But during his childhood the Mughal empire was on the decline and the British power was gaining a secure position. He joined the Judicial Service of the East India Company and in the capacity of a judge served at various stations. He had himself witnessed the atrocities committed to the Indian Muslims and the total collapse of the Muslim rule in India. He sincerely believed that the disintegration of the Muslim society was mostly due to the lack of modern knowledge and negligence of the modern scientific pursuits. While still in the service of the East India Company he established schools at Ghazipur and Muradabad and encouraged gainful educational activities, wherever he was posted.[8]

The British take over of India had shaken the muslim society. In their utter despondency the muslims reacted sharply against the growing British influence and unwittingly failed to realize the reality of the British rule in India and ignored to inject a new life in their educational endeavours. Sir Syed induced the muslims :[9]

1. to accept the reality of the British rule and adjust their affairs in the new set up with courage, determination and confidence in their own destiny,
2. to make efforts to overcome misfortune,
3. to preserve their own heritage and acquire proficiency in the modern arts and sciences,
4. to remain united against non-muslims and master over the disintegrating tendecies,
5. to act on the principle that when the British rule will be withdrawn the Hindu dominated democracy would be a real danger.

In 1869 Sir Syed made a journey to England and visited several educational institutions. The University of Cambridge impressed him the most. This visit provided him an opportunity to think over and give a final shape to his plan of establishing a similar institution

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8. Ikram, S.M., *Mauj-i-Kausar, op. cit.*, pp. 62-67.
9. Daud, S.T., *op. cit.*

in India. On his return he proposed to establish a college at Aligarh, and it was encouraging that he succeeded in enlisting the support of a group of sincere and intelligent workers. He felt strengthened and formed a "Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning Among the Mohammadans (Muslims) of India.[10]

Sir Syed intended to establish at Aligarh a University which would ensure good education according to the needs and requirements of the community. He fondly desired the Muslims to acquire modern knowledge along with the traditional pursuits of learning. He wanted his Aligarh to be the seat of high intellectual activities for eductional, economics and political regeneration of the Indian Muslims. Thus his ultimate objective was to see that the college served as an effective instrument of the muslim revivalism.[11]

The original scheme of Sir Syed for the development of his proposed institution included (1) an English College, (2) an Urdu College—a parallel stream of English College where modern sciences were to be taught through the medium of Urdu and (3) an Arabic College which would provide facilities for research. The scheme to establish a Muslim University was presented to the Government on February 10, 1873, but it declined to sanction a grant-in-aid if the objective of the promoters was to establish an independent Muslim University without any effective control of the Government. Arguments followed arguments and the promotors entered into a long conrtoversy with the Government. They tried hard to convince the Government to concede in favour of establishing an independent university at Aligarh, but the exchange of views did not bear any fruitful result. This was a controversy over which the Government was not prepared to concede.[12]

When Sir Syed found that he was not in a position to establish an institution of his own liking, he had to give in and accept for his institution the courses of study prescribed by the University of Calcutta and later, in 1887 A.D., by the University of Allahabad. The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (M.A.O.) College was thus established in 1875, not exactly what Sir Syed wanted it to be. However it is gratifying to see that in due course of time it had fulfilled

10. Aziz, M.A., *op. cit.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

many of the obligations for which the founder made earnest efforts during his life time.[13]

When Lord Lytton laid the foundation of the M.A.O. College Sir Syed expressed his feelings in the following words :

> The seed we are sowing today would develop into a robust tree whose branches like a banyan tree would go deep into the soil and cause the rejuvenation of similar other huge trees. This College will develop into a university whose alumni would carry on healthy traditions of independent research, unprejudices and high morals.

Sir Syed was bold and courageous and was made of strong nerves. He was sensitive to the sad plight of the muslims and with the help of a study of the material progress of the English people he had himself made, he concluded that the Muslims were fairly backward both spiritually and materially. Sometimes it appeared to him that "it could not be possible to push them out from the existing state of degeneration", but he was a man of firm conviction and strong will. He once said, "I do not lose heart, and so long as I am alive I shall not accept failure" and he proved himself true to his words.[14]

Sir Syed and his co-workers made earnest effort to work for the revival of a new muslim social order. He wanted his Aligarh to coordinate the social, cultural, educational and political activities of the Indian Muslims and establish a potential leadership to meet the challenge of modern scientific and technological advancement. But he knew that the college alone could not spread the knowledge among the Muslims of India. He therefore, established the All India Muslim Educational Conference to provide a forum for discussing problems that affect the Muslims at large. The principal aims of the conference were :[15]

1. to make an effort to spread among the Muslims Western education to a higher standard,
2. to enquire into the state of religious education in English

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13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, Ikram, *op. cit.*, Baljan, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Syed, Graham, Hali and others.*

15. Aziz, M.A., *op. cit.*, Hali, *Hayat-i-Javid*, Ikram, *Mauj-i-Kausar*.

schools founded and endowed by the Muslims, and to find out means to conduct it in the best possible way,

3. to give some strengthened support to the instruction voluntarily imparted by Muslim divines in religious and other oriental learnings, and adopt some measures to maintain it as a living concern,
4. to examine a state of education and instruction in the indigenous primary schools and take steps to remove their present state of decay in directing them on the path of progress.

He extensively toured the country and emphasized the need for acquiring modern knowledge and modern techniques to live as a respectable nation. He started publishing *Tehzibul Akhlaq* (تہذیب الاخلاق) and the Scientific Gazette to reform and revitalize the decaying Muslim society. The aim was to publish articles that would help the Muslims come out from the existing state of degeneration.[16]

In short the chief characteristics of the Aligarh Movement could be summed up as :

1. to accept the reality of the British rule and spread modern knowledge among the Muslims of India,
2. to revitalize their social, political and economic life,
3. to provide a nucleus for the Muslim renaissance.

The chief objective of Sir Syed Ahmad in initiating a policy of educational reform was to restore self confidence and forge an intellectual unity among the educated Muslims so that they might be able to attain maturity to build up a new socio-economic and political order. Aligarh served as a nucleus for preparing the young Muslims for the task lying ahead of them. The M.A.O. College, the Muslim Educational Conference and the journals he published contributed to the Muslim awakening, and a new period of renaissance started.[17]

Sir Syed was a disciple of Maulvi Mamluk Ali (مولوی مملوک علی) and studied for some time under his guidance along with Maulvi Qasim Nanautawi (مولوی قاسم نانوتوی) who played a significant role in the establishment, progress and mainntennce of the Madrasatul

16. Ikram, S.M., *op. cit.*, Chapter on Sir Syed., Aziz, M.A., *op. cit.*
17. Ikram, *op. cit.*

Uloom, Deoband (مدرسہ العلوم دیوبند). Sometimes it is wrongly presumed that both these movements were divergent and opposed to each other. As a matter of fact they were contributory to each other and carried on the mission of revivalism started by Shah Waliullah and his illustrious sons at the Madrasai Rahimiya (مدرسہ رحیمیہ دہلی) Delhi. The divergence of roads and bye-roads in the two movements was built up in due course of time.[18]

The events that followed the war of 1857 contributed much to the political thinking of Sir Syed. The Councellors Act of 1861 initiated a legislative system both at the centre and the provinces. In 1882 the Local Self Government Act was passed and the district and municipal councils were constituted on the basis of direct vote with a possible provision of the rule of the majority. They were good reforms, but the cultural diversification of the people living in India demanded a different solution of the consitutional problems. This could have been based on the principle of justice for all. But the British masters repeated in India the same experiences they had in England.[19]

Along with these reforms many despotic measures were also carried on. This included the tyranny of the police, the stmap duty, agrarian settlement, press act, and the general poverty of the populace. These measures made the situation explosive and Sir Syed was very sensitive to it. On the other hand the British diplomacy was also not unaware of the situation. The administration felt the pulse of time and started devising ways and means to avert it. Mr. Hume, acting under the advice of the Viceroy and many other prominent Englishmen helped the creation of the Indian National Congress to serve as a sort of "information pool" for the Imperial administration under the guidance of influential Englishmen. The Hindus had thus reaped a fair harvest of these reforms and for the first time discovered the force they could acquire under a parliamentary system of administration based on the concept of the majority rule ; and with all the hatred for the Muslims the British continued to preach this gospel. Sir Syed was the first Muslim thinker and realist to see the coming storm

18. Chaudhari, A. G., *Aligrah Magazine*, 1948, *Sir Syed Ki Talimi Tahrik*.
19. Hassan Riaz, *op. cit.*, Ikram, *op. cit.*

He advised the Muslims to keep away from the Indian National Congress which was gradually moving towards a policy of Hindu domination in any form of an elected Government. He once said "I am now fully convinced that the two nations would not be able to participate whole heartedly in any activity whatsoever."[20]

This conviction guided his thinking and he devoted his energy to help the muslims realise their own-self and demonstrate confidence in their own destiny at an appropriate time. Sir Syed accomplished the task which he had set for himself against unfavourable conditions. He died in 1898 A.D. but had left behind good traditions of hard work and service to mankind. He pushed ahead the cause of the muslim regeneration in India by restoring in them the confidence they had lost and the new knowledge that would help them compete with others. He showed the path of self-determination that led to the establishment of Pakistan under the capable leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

It has now been firmly established that Sir Syed was the first muslim in the nineteenth century to state in clear terms that the Muslims and the Hindus were two nations. He was convinced that both of them could not possibly live together in the near future, particularly because of the educated Hindus with an inberd chauvinism. He warned the muslims in his writings and speeches that the Western concept of the majority rule in a parliamentary democracy would ultimately reduce them to mere serfs, whence they would lose their indentity as a self-respecting nations hitherto actively engaged in the social, cultural, economic and intellectual development of the Indian people including the Hindus. Some critics of Sir Syed sometimes say that his opposition to the Indian National Congress, which was at that time a chamber-maid to the British imperial policies, delayed the process of political consciousness among the Muslims. But as a matter of fact it was the other way round. He picked up the most essential element in the process of development to bring back the Muslims to a productive life in the modern world, and devoted his time and energy to revitalize their social order. The other elements were to follow. That was his philosophy and the events in the later life of the Indian Muslims proved beyond any doubt that he was not

20. Ikram, *op. cit.*, Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, Daud, S. I., *op. cit.*

only earnest, clear and honest but was correct in his estimate.

In the field of education he did not work for subordinating the muslim will to a process of anglicization. Some of his antagonists feel that he had unnecessarily subjected the muslims to conform to the Macaulian philosophy. This criticism is far from being true. He sincerely believed that "the Muslims should have in their one hand the philosophy and in the other the modern sciences and on their head the crown of ILL-al-Lah—(الا الله) - there is no god but God. This readily explains that he was a progressive reformist who wanted to use the medium of education for producing individuals who would not be alien to themselves nor to their nation, but would turn out to be true faithfuls equipped with most modern knowledge. He was not very much inclined to create a class of English knowing service community, but was equally vociferous that the cultivation of knowledge through the medium of Urdu would ultimately contribute to the desired intellectual accomplishment. This view is well demonstrated by his proposal of establishing the Urdu and Arabic colleges. The English college was to meet the requirement of time and spread the knowledge so acquired in the language commonly understood. He was aware that the time for the acquisition of knowledge need not be necessarily wasted in mastering a foreign language but devoted to the acquisition of knowledge itself. In this respect Sir Syed was right because it is not uncommon that perfection in the foreign language is yet to be achieved when the time for the acquisition of knowledge passes away and thus the end-produet of our system lacks initiative, creativity, sensitivity, imagination and intellectual acuemen. Being himself a practical analyst, prolific writer, effective orator and a straightforward gentleman there is no reason to disbelieve that he was anxious to produce through his system the type of an individual who could have the capacity and capability of carrying the brunt of time. This he had demonstrated himself and the way he had shown to the nation to adopt reassures this assertion.

It is generally said that Sir Syed had a towering personality which provided a sense of self-direction the Muslims had lost. His concern for the improvement of the Muslim social order was multiple. He was indeed a great man and his greatness lay in his ability to steer through the troubled waters and influence and educate a number of top ranking leaders who could carry on his mission. The Aligarh

movement had many adherents and associates to complete the task. Prominent among them were Maulvi Samiullah Khan, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Maulana Shibli Noamani, Maulana Zakaullah, Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali, Maulvi Charagh Ali and a score of other persons who were not only influenced by the movement but were directly responsible for its many sided activities.

Central Mohammadan Association : Although not directly influenced by Sir Syed, Syed Amir Ali had greatly supplemented his work. He was born in 1849 A.D. in Bengal. Nawab Abdul Latif arranged funds for his education. He started his legal practice at Calcutta in 1873 A.D. He taught Muslim law at the Presidency College, Calcutta and was elected a fellow of the University of Calcutta.

In 1878 A.D. he was made presidency magistrate and was subsequently appointed a judge of the Calcutta High Court. After his retirement in 1904 A.D. he was made a member of the Privy Council.

In 1876 A.D., he founded the Mohammadan (Muslim) Association which was later on coverted into the Central Muhammadan (Muslim) Association with its branches all over the sub-continent including Sind where it had as many as six branches. He served as the secretary of the association for 25 years and provided a political platform for presenting the muslim claims and grievances to the Government. It was due to the efforts of Syed Amir Ali that the Mohsin Fund which was monopolised by the Hindus like Bankim Chandra Chatterji was made available for the education of the muslims. He played an important role in securing the separate electorate for the Muslims of India and wrote articles for the revival of the muslims all over the world.

Syed Amir Ali was a good writer. His two books—*The History of of the Saracens* and the *Spirit of Islam* are great contributions to the realm of knowledge.[22]

Darul Uloom Deoband : The death of Shah Abul Aziz and the failure of the Jihad movement led by Syed Ahmed Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed created a vacuum and caused gloom among the Muslims of India, but still there were men of high ideals and action, who could provide the necessary leadership. The traditions of learning and scholarship of the Madrasa-i-Rahimiya and the mission of Shah Waliullah

21. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-89.
22. *Ibid.*

was carried on by Shah Ishaq, Shah Yaqub, Maulvi Rashiduddin, Haji Imdadullah and others. One of the illustrious disciples of Maulvi Rashiduddin was Maulvi Mamluk Ali who had to his credit the training of students like Sir Syed Ahmed, Maulana Qasim Nanautawi, Maulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi, Maulana Ahmed Ali Muhaddith Saharanpuri and Maulana Yaqoob Nanautawi. But the moving force of his time was Haji Imdadullah who trained and inspired many of the learned men of his time including Maulana Qasim Nanautawi. He was a capable disciple of Shah Ishaq.[23]

The chief promotor of the Madrasa-i-Deoband (district Saharanpur, U.P.) was Maulvi Fazlur Rahman. He was the father of Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani who fought for Pakistan. But the Madrasa rose to its prominence under the capable leadership of Maulana Qasim Nanautawi and Maulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi.[24]

In a way the Madrasa-i-Deoband was the continuation of the Madrasa-i-Rahimya, Delhi and many of the traditions set by Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz. The Madrasa has now developed into a big institution which specialises in various branches of Islamic Learning including Quran, Hadith, Fiqh and has been able to achieve an enviable place in the field of Islamic Learning. Although it is maintained on old traditions and old disciplines and method of theaching it worked well to infuse new blood and to popularise the true spirit of Islam.[25]

Among the most prominent men of learning who were educated at Deoband include the names of Shaikhul Hind, Maulana Mahmudul Hasan, Maulana Ashraf (Thanwi), Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Maulana Kifayatullah, Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani. Many of these scholars took part in politics. Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani and his associates collaboratted with the Congress in the freedom movement, whereas Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani and the like minded Ulema threw their weight on the side of the Muslim League and played an important role in the establishment of Pakistan. As a member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan he vigorously worked for an Islamic Constitution for Pakistan. He was associated with the preparation of the Objectives Resolution which served as a base for future

23. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-31.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-26.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-31.

efforts in Constitution making. Maulana Usmani died at Bahawalpur, but was buried on the premises of Islamia College, Karachi.[26]

Nadwatul Ulama : While Deoband represented the old and traditional pattern, Aligarh stood for modern knowledge. Although in many respect, the objectives of the two institutions were not basically opposed to each other, both Deoband and Aligarh adopted their own path to reach the destination and it so happened that in due course of time they found themselves pole's apart. Following the revages of 1857, the things settled down and Deoband and Aligarh were making head way in their own directions, many prominent muslims started evaluating the situation objectively and thought of establishing an institution which should have a middle of the road course between Deoband and Aligarh.[27]

Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor, Deputy Collector initiated the movement for the establishment of the Nadwatul Ulama, while Syed Muhammad Ali of Kanpur laid its foundation and served as its founder administrator. The objectives of the Nadwa were spelled out as under.[28] :

1. To reform the curriculum, develop religious learnings, improve the morals and help cultivate polished behaviour.
2. To resolve and settle down the differences of opinion among the Ulama and provide complete restraint on the expression of divergent points of view.
3. To give thought and advise ways and means for the general welfare of the Muslims, but to keep them away from politics and the affairs of the state.
4. To establish a magnificent academy of learning where technical education is provided along with Academic Education.
5. To establish a departments of Ufta (افتاء).

When Sir Anthony Macdonell who was a great opponent of Urdu was made the Lt. Governor of U P. his wrath fell on the Nadwa. He tried to destroy it, but the new institution stood the test of time. Maulana Shibli Noamani who worked at Aligarh for a long time served as its secretary and introduced several reforms. The Agha

26. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-31.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 206-11.
28. *Ibid.*

Khan, the ruler of Bhopal and many other prominent Muslims helped the Nadwa tide over its financial difficulties.[29]

Nadwatul Ulama has a fine set of building, a valuable library and good working traditions. Prominent among the many notable scholars who received their education at Nadwa were Syed Suleman Nadavi, Abdus Salam Nadavi, Syed Abdul Hasan Nadavi, Syed Najib Ashraf, Maulvi Abu Zafar and others. Syed Suleman Nadavi died at Karachi and was buried close to the grave of Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani on the premises of Islamia College, Karachi. These eminent scholars from Nadawa have made a valuable contributions to learning, particularly its bye-product Darul Musannifeen, Azamgarh which produces a series of valuable literature on Islam and the Muslims. This institution was established by Maulana Shibli Noamani.[30]

Anjuman-i-Himayatul Islam : The Sikh rule in the Punjab made the Muslims suffer great humiliations and untold miseries. Many of the respectable families migrated to Delhi which was then compartively peaceful. When the British annexed the Punjab in 1849 A.D. the change was accepted as a redeming feature. Their sentiments were exploited by the new rulers to their advantages during the revolt of 1857.[31]

Immediately after the annexation the Christian Missionaries moved into Punjab and succeeded in converting a few families to Christianity mostly drawn from the Hindu scheduled caste. The poverty of the people appeared to have been the chief reason for the missionary exploitation. Encouraged by the successes of the missionaries the leaders of the Arya Samaj movement made Lahore their headquarter to start a campaign of vilification against the Muslims and the Prophet of Islam.[32]

The Anjuman-i-Himayatul Islam was established to counter the hastilites of the Christian Missionaries and the Arya Samaj movements. The Anjuman trained Muslim missionaries to save them from exploitation. Yet another important undertaking of the Anjuman was the estabitshment of educational institutions, award of scholarships to promising muslim students and publication of books. Since then the publication department has brought out many useful books.

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29. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-11.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, Daud, S.T., *op. cit.*
32. Daud, S.T., *op. cit.*

Islamia College, established in 1882 A.D. and its allied institutions contributed a lot to the Muslim regeneration in the Punjab.[33]

The annual sessions of the Anjuman attracted people in large number from all over the Punjab and U.P. Deputy Nazir Ahmad, Maulana Shibli Noamani, Mohsinul Mulk took keen interest in the development of the Anjuman. Allama Iqbal was deeply interested in the promotion and development of the Anjuman. Some of his well known poems like Shikwah, Jawab-i-Shikwah and Nala-i-Yateem were recited in the annual session of the Anjuman.[34]

Sind Madrasatul Islam : Syed Amir Ali founded the National Mohammadan (Muslim) Association in 1876 A.D. which had its branches spread all over British India. At least one branch of the Association was functioning in Sind which was at that time a part of the Bombay Presidency. In 1884 A.D. when Syed Amir Ali came to Karachi in connection with his professional work, he gave a public lecture and started a movement that finally led to the establishment of the Sind Madrasatul Islam.[35]

The Sind Madrasatul Islam was initially started in Boltn Market in a rented building, but soon it was realized that the institution should have its own premises. Hasan Ali Affendi worked hard to sacure some spacious place for the new institution and ultimately succeeded in procuring land from the Municipal Board for the construction of the institution. The Muslim ruler of India generously contributed to make it financially sound. Hasan Ali Affendi himself visited Aligarh to benefit from the expriences of Sir Syed and his co-workers. He sent his two sons to study at Aligarh. His eldest son Wali Muhammad served as the Principal of S.M. College and led the movement towards greater success. The objective of the founder was to provide and spread education among the Muslims of Sind. The Quaid-i-Azam also attended the madarissa for some time.[36]

In 1947 A.D. Sind Madrasa was the only Muslim institution in Sind to meet the growing needs of the student influx from India. This helped the Madrissa to enter into a new phase of life. It has now expanded into several independent institutions to meet the rising needs of the time.[37]

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33. *Ibid.* 34. *Ibid.* 35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.* 37. *Ibid.*

Islamia College of Peshawar : The failure of the Jihad movement led by Syed Ahmed Shaheed strengthened the Sikh rule in the region. But it did not survive for a long time. Within a period of less than two decades the growing British power in India annexed the Punjab and subsequently extended its control over Pashawar, and other strategic places in the region. The establishment of the British rule paved the way for the Christian missionaries who were engaged in anti-Muslim activities. This inroad into the Muslim culture set many right thinking Muslims on the alert. Fida Muhammad Khan, a prominent Barristar, Babu Ghulam Haider and Mian Abdul Karim founded the Anjuman-i-Himayatul Islam in Peshawar to counter the activities of the Chiristian missionaries. In 1890 A.D. they established the Islamia School which grew into a big orgaizations but due to negligence the institution was closed by the second decade of this century.[38]

It was during this period that Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyoom infused a new life and led the educational movement with great anthusism. He prepared a scheme for the promotion of learning in the North Western Fronteer province. The scheme had the blessing of the Chief Commissioner and the British Officials in Peshawar. The Sahibzada succeeded in laying the foundation of Darul Uloom-i-Islamia at a distance of 5 miles from the Peshawar city on the Peshawar-Landikotal Road. In 1913 A.D. the institution was transformed into Islamia College Peshawar and was affiliated with the University of the Punjab, Lahore for purposes of examination. It was intended that College should be raised to the status of a University but, the dream did not come true during his life time. The establishment of a University at Peshawar was made possible only after independence when in 1950 A.D. Abdul Qaiyoom Khan, the then Chief Minister of the province formally started the University. Islamia College served as a nucleus and even today stands supreme in its effort to promote learning [39]

38. Daud, S.T., *op. cit.*

39. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

The Muslim League was still in its nascent stage when the world of Islam was seized with turmoil. In 1912 A.D. Italy attacked Tripoli (Tarables-ul-Gharb) in Libya ; while the united Balkan forces marched on Turkey to wipe the influence of Islam from the European soil. The Western colonial powers had been nursing hope for a long time to over run the lands of Islam. Great Britain which had by now occupied most of the Muslim territories, extending from the Mediterranian Sea to the strait of Malacca in the Indian Ocean, was particularly interested in breaking up the Turkish power. When Italy invaded Tripoli, Turkey did not possess, sufficiently strong navy to defend the territory. Only Ghazi Anwar Beig with the help of the Sannausi tribe put up a strong fight against the invaders, but eventually it proved to be a losing battle.[1]

The Muslim of India had always in their heart the well being of the Muslims all over the world. These attacks engineered great resentment among the Indian Muslims who had now discovered their own personality after a long period of psychological defeatism following the fall of the Mughal empire. The old reformers of the Nineteenth century, who had strived hard to save the Muslims from complete destruction were no more on the scene. Now it fell upon the young leadership that included among other men like Maulana Mohammad

1. Hasan Riaz, *Pakistan Naguzir Tha*, Karachi, 1970, pp. 61-62, 81-84.

Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to develop political consciousness and maturity. The writings of the al-Hilal, the Comrade (English) and the Hamdard (Urdu) stirred up the feelings of the Indian Muslims to revive their glorious past and help the war victims in Turkey.[2]

The attack on Turkey which had in some form retained the unifying institution of the Khilafat was taken as an open attack on Islam and the institution of Khilafat. The Indian Muslims stood stead fastly to fight for the rights of the Muslims to exist and preserve their identity.[3]

The *Comrad* and other papers published the reports of the attack in detail. This created a commotion among the Indian Muslims which resulted in agitation rallies throughout the country. So great was the enthusiasm in support of Turkey that the Government of India and the British Government had to take notice of it and make some promises, but the agitation went on unabated.[4]

Following the Tripoli and Balkan catastrophe started the World War I (1914—1918). Turkey sided with Germany which was fighting against Great Britain and other allied powers. This brought Turkey in direct conflict with England which was already conspiring against it. In the beginning of the war the real British instentions remained concealed. But when they instigated Sharif Husain of Mecca to rise against the Turks to form an independent Arab State, the real British intentions were uncovered. They sabotaged the Turks in the battle field and planned to deprive them of all the territories under their control. It was a very trying movement for the Indian Muslims. They did not consider wise the Arab conspiracy with a foreign power to subvert the Turks. But in this respect they could hardly render any physical help.[5]

The British newspapers started a villifying campaign against the Turks and ridiculed them in their comments. When the *London Times* wrote a slanderous article on Turks entitled, "The Choice of the Turks", Maulana Muhammad Ali gave a befitting reply in his paper under the same title. For this he was made to pay a heavy price. The publication of the *Comrade* was band and both Maulana

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-92.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.
5. *Ibid.*

Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were put in prison, first in Mehrauli; then in Chhandwara and Betul. Maulana Hasrat Mohani was also imprisoned on similar grounds.[6]

Germany and Turkey were defeated in the war and an emergency peace treaty was signed. The allied powers proposed to destroy Turkey completely by seizing its navy and disbanning its army. For this a peace treaty; generally known as the Treaty of Sevres which included the following conditions was imposed on Turkey.[7]

(*i*) The Sultan will rule over Istanbul with the help of the allied powers.
(*ii*) The allied powers will have a right to control the straits and occupy any part of the Asiatic Turkey.
(*iii*) A new state of Armenia which will include Eastern Anatolia, Erzrum, Dan, Tarbazum, Arzanjan etc., will be established with the help of the United State of America.
(*iv*) Turkey shall wave off all his claims on the Arab land.
(*v*) The mandate of Syria will be given to France and that of Iraq, Palestine and Jordan to Great Britain and Adlia will be handed over to Italy and Symerna and Western Anatolia to Greece.

The Indian muslims in their humble position made great sacrifices for Islam and the muslims living in other parts of the world. They started the Khilafat Movement to help their brothers in faith, handsomely contributed to the Khilafat fund and sent a medical mission under the leadership of Dr. M. A. Ansari. Touching scenes in which women and children made highest sacrifices to serve the cause of Islam were witnessed.[8]

The Khilafat movement was organised through the length and breadth of the country. The first Khilafat Conference was held at Delhi in 1919 to protest against the 'Treaty of Sevres'. The British Government which once declared to protect the sanctity of the holy land and the institutions dear to the Muslims had turned its back and injured their feelings. The intrigues which aimed to reduce the Turkish power and grab the Muslim land for their own ends had succeeded.[9]

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6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.
8. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-05.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87.

The collapse of the Turks caused anger and resentment among the Indian Muslims. Many of them who were disgusted with the outcome decided to leave India and make Afghanistan their permanent home, but when the Afghan Government closed its borders to the migrating muslims it caused great hardship to many. This step of the Afghan Government put a stop to the migration movement. The second reaction had for reaching effect. Forced by the circumstances muslims were driven to join and uphold the non-cooperation movement. In the second Khilafat Conference held at Amritsar in 1919, it was decided that the Khilafat committee should send a deputation to England to persuade the Government to refrain from injuring the Muslim sentiment. The third conference held at Bombay in 1920 endorsed the decision taken at Amritsar and finalised the scheme of sending the deputation to England. Accordingly the deputation was sent under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar. Lloyed George who was the British Prime Minister at the time, refused to accept the demands of the Indian Muslims and it appeared that he had been rather rejoicing the dismemberment of the Turkish empire and holding Jeruselum as a revenge to the shameful European defeats in the crusades.[10]

Karachi Khilafat Conference : In July 1921 the Khilafat Conference held its session as Karachi. It was an inspiring session in which the Muslims of India demonstrated their solidarity. Maulana Muhammad Ali who spoke with great courage and magnanimity moved a resolution, wherein it was laid down that the Indian Muslims would dissociate from enrolling in the armed forces, launch a civil disobedience movement and work for complete independence for the country in case the Government got involved in a war against the Angoorah (Ankara) Government. This resolution was considered to be sufficient ground to prosecute Maulana Muhammad Ali. He was dramatically arrested along with other participants of the Karachi conference. The list included most of the Khilafat leaders.[11]

The Karachi Prosecution Case : Many of the Indian political organizations and the public in general congratulated Maulana Muhammad Ali for his courage and sincere efforts to uphold the cause. But he was prosecuted for instigating the muslims in the armed

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-96.

11. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-15.

forces to revolt against the Government. The memorable prosecution was held at the Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi. But this did not deter him. He himself presented his case before the jury comprising an Englishman and two Indian Christians. He made a great speech supported by arguments. The jury did not find him guilty of this charge, but sentenced him to two years rigorous imprisonment on other charges. The honesty of purpose and the bold moves which he made to uphold the cause of Islam will always be remembered by the muslims of the country, the heroic utterances of a great leader who lived and died in the service of Islam and the Indian Muslims will serve as a beacon light for the future.[12]

However, events in Turkey proper after its defeat in the World War I as an ally to the German forces took a different turn. The new leaders had practically averted the mishap. Mustafa Kamal and his associates had been able to turn out the forces of occupation and obliged the allies to change the shameful Treaty of Sevres. A new treaty known as Treaty of Luzan was signed in which Turkey regained its present boundaries after having surrendered most of its empire and the political and military privileges. France, Italy and Greece were made to withdraw their armed forces and guarantee the independence of the country.[13]

The draft of the treaty commonly known as the Treaty of Luzan was signed on July 24, 1923. Some of the significant terms included in the treaty were as follows :[14]

(*i*) The Arab land will be taken away from the control of Turkey.
(*ii*) Except Thrace all the European territory under the Turkish rule will be seized.
(*iii*) Most of the islands will be distributed between Italy and Greece.
(*iv*) Turkey will cease to have suzerainty over Lybia, Egypt and Sudan.
(*v*) Cyprus will be given to Great Britain.
(*vi*) Turkey shall not be required to pay the war damages.
(*vii*) There shall be no imposition of any control over the Turkish navy.
(*viii*) The Straits will remain under the Turkish control.

12. *Ibid.* 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27. 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-30.

(*ix*) There will be a transfer of population between Turkey and Greece.

The revolting Arabs who had in their fond hope of regaining independence unwittingly fought for the consolidation of British empire, found themselves in a trap. Most of the Arab land was stolen away by the British, and Sharif Husain of Mecca who helped Lawrence of Arabia in his false hope of becoming the ruler of the entire Arab world was driven into yet another mirage. The promise was an intrigue and was not intended to be honoured. The Arab land was finally divided among the European imperial powers; which ultimately resulted in the creation of Israel.

Following the Treaty of Luzan the Majlis-e-Milli-e-Kabir decided to abolish the institution of Khilafat. Consequently Sultan Abdul Majid was deposed and banished on March 4, 1924. And with this decision came to an end the Khilafat movement in India which proved to have been an undaunted demonstration of Muslim will against the mechanization of the European powers that had by their intrigues wrested the land of Islam from their lawful occupants.[15]

Non-Cooperative Movement and Aftermath : The promises held to the Indian muslims were falsefied. The occupation of the Arab land, the descreation of the holy places and reducing the Turkish empire into a small and insignificant state were sufficiently good reasons for an upheaval. The Rowlatt Act, the incident of Jullianwala Bagh, the Mopla uprising and the British oppression and tyranny in putting down the genuine expression of their feeling coincided with the high tempers mounting up in the country, against the ruthless division of the Turkish empire. This resulted in an alliance of the Khilafat Committee and the Indian National Congress in non-cooperation movement led by the Gandhian philosophy against the British power in India. The Muslims with their injured sentiments provided the necessary force to generate momentum in the non-cooperation movement launched jointly by the Khilafat Conference, Congress, Jamaite-Ulma and many other organizations. The non-cooperation movement startled the Government. The Duke of Cannaught appealed for calm to build up a new future. But when it was found that the

15. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-33.

agitation could not be cooled down, the British diplomacy came out to play its role.[16]

The Government did not want to come in direct conflict with the Indian people, but wished to crack down the agitation with the help of internal dissentions. It was neither improbable nor impossible. The Congress was not sincere with the Muslims, it was clearly manifested during the movement. This exposition of the real designs of the Congress coupled with many other factors obliged the muslims to reassess their position. But one thing was very clear in the movement. The British in their wrath to avenge, were out to crush down the Khilafat movement and demonstrate a show down of Ali Brothers who had been able to restore confidence in the Indian Muslims in their bid to build up their destiny as an honest, brave and unified nation.[17]

The Khilafat movement in its internal stages was an emotional outburst, but it gradually gained momentum. Mr. Gandhi joined the movement to exploit the Muslims for his political ends. It is true that in extending co-operation to Mr. Gandhi the Muslims made an error of judgement. It was not only unnecessary to seek the co-operation of the Hindus in the matter like Khilafat, but also injurious to the cause itself. Experience made them wiser and in the following years they could see through the political game the Hindus were playing against the Muslims. They made assessment of their failures and achievements which provided blood and sinews to the struggle launched in the later years for the establishment of an independent Muslim state where the Muslims should have the freedom and opportunity to recast their lives according to the injnuctions of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. It should not, therefore, be viewed as an isolated emotional activism generated through humiliating political and military defeats in India. It was indeed a movement to check the centrifugal tendencies being systematized under a planned chauvinistic foreign conspiracy ; and channelize them to form a central nook for revivalism. For the past few centuries Turkey had served as the nerve centre of activity and the Muslims in India were naturally interested in keeping intact the focal point of unity and solidarity. The Treaty of Luzan in effect did not prove to be an antitoxin to the Treaty of Sevres. On

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-125. 17. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-125.

the other hand it had rather served the designs of the European powers very well. The Turkish Empire was dismembered and contained in a small territory and finally secularised according to the Western model. The Arab land fell into the hands of the European powers. And this is what the christian west was crusading for.

The Khilafat movement kindled yet another spark. It spearheaded the Pakistan movement and provided the necessary weapon through which a political war to identify the Muslims as such could be waged.

CHAPTER V

PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

The political atmosphere for the Muslims following the establishment of the British rule in India was suffocating. The administration was wilfully engaged in creating conditions that would destroy the distinct political and economic entity of the Muslims ; sometimes it was in collaboration with the Hindus and some times out of its own animosity. But in spite of political schemes and administrative safe guards sometime it so happened that these measures affected the economic and political life of the entire population including the vast majority of the Hindus. Any such situation was considered inflammable to which the government was very sensitive. As a permanent solution to any unexpected upheaval some of the highly placed government officials thought of sponsoring the setting up of an organization that would provide a platform for ventilating verbally any political outbrust in the years to come. This led the British imperialism become a godparent of the Indian National Congress and patrnoize its activities to safeguard the English political, military and economic interest in India. Such was the beginning of the Indian National Congress that owed its existence to A. O. Hume, a British Officer in the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.), who felt the political unrest in the past nursed conspiricies and intrigues, but could be hopefully avoided in the future.[1]

1. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-45.

There was a possibility that similar incidents might occur in the future. The government had sufficient information that the Hindu religious leaders and their followers were fomenting agitation and favouring an outbrust of hostilities in which they would kill the elements that would appear undesirable to them. The intention was to arouse people against the government and initiate a popular rebellion.[2]

These conditions made Hume think in terms of founding an organization that would provide a reasonable platform for releasing the political tension under the guidance of the government itself. He discussed his proposal with Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy of India, and with many other prominent Englishmen who had formerly held highest positions in the imperial administration of India. Opinions coincided and views agreed. The stage for the birth of the Indian National Congress was set. The chief objective of the new organization was "to strengthen the idea of one nation that had been initiated under the leadership of our respected leader Lord Ripon". The first session of the Congress was held at Bombay on December, 28, 1885.[3]

The organization flourished under the patronage, guidance and advice of the prominent Englishmen. For a long time Mr. Hume played a significant role in preparing schemes and popularising the congress among the English. Sir Willian Wedeburn and David Yule presided over the Congress sessions and it was not uncommon that eminent Englishmen, usually members of the British Parliament could come all the way from England to attend the congress sessions. The idea of a Hindu majority controlling the destiny of the Indian people under a parliamentary democracy was being mooted out and the congress was gradually adopting a policy of welding the Hindu society into one nation by undermining the interest and the rights of other sections of the population. The Hindus had thus started dreaming of establishing the Hindu raj in the sub-continent under the cover of a parlimentary democracy.[4]

Along with the Indian National Congress several other Hindu organizations and the growing Hindu press worked for the Hindu

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2. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-45. Daud, S.T., *op. cit.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

renaissance under the British patronage. In the name of constitutional reform through elective element in the legislative, Hindus were looking ahead for an overall control of the Indian administration without giving any guarantee to the welfare of other communities living in the country. The Hindu extremists in the congress were involved in a policy of exterminating the Muslims or at least reducing them to the status of untouchables of the Hindu society. Bal Gangadhar Tilak initiated the cult of Shivaji to bring in violence in the movement. The activist role of Surendarnath Bennerji and the fanaticism of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya slimmed the possibility of any workable understanding with the Muslims. The Hindu leadership stood farther away from reconciliation and in the hope of ruling the country with absolute majority there appeared to have been left nothing in common. The introduction of the Nagri script and the Hindi language in place of the Persian script and the Urdu language made things still worse.[5]

Events after events generated hatred and violence which prejudiced the social and political amity existing for a long time. The Muslims were obliged to think in terms of preserving their identity as a separate nation with their own cultural heritage. What Sir Syed saw and visualized long age was coming to have been true. He was opposed to the villifying role of the congress and towards the close of his life engaged himself in explaining the game of the Indian National Congress vis-a-vis the Muslim rights and privileges. He did not see the possible safeguards necessary for his community in any scheme of elective representation based on the British form of democracy. He was clear in his mind and in the following years he explained his point of view in many of his speeches and suggested a system of separate electorate in the peculiar circumstances of the Indian social and ethnic composition. He boldly advocated that the Muslims should dissociate themselves from the Congress because he said, "I know what the Indian National Congress stands for and what is being manipulated therein". Although the main stake of his mission was still the spread of modern education among the Muslims, he could very well see the gathering of the political storm.[6]

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5. Hasan iaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-45, Daud S. T. *op. cit.*,
6. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-80.

Since the days of Sir Syed Aligarh became the nucleus of the Muslim national movement. When Anthony Macdonell with the support of the Hindu leaders introduced Hindi in Nagri script in Bihar and later on in the United Provinces (U.P) by condemning Urdu written in the modified Quranic (Arabic) script as a reminicscent of the Muslim rule in India, the feelings of the Hindu populace were stirred up. No amount of persuasion, polite gestures and cooperation would let the militant Hindu leadership see the realities of life. The more they were persuaded the more they were falling apart. It was now realized that disregarding the complexion of the existing society the Hindus were gradually moving towards establishing the Hindu Raj. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who succeeded Sir Syed as the secretary of the M.A.O. College, took a serious view of the change, raised his voice of protest against the decision of the government and presided over the meeting of the Urdu Defence Association held at Lucknow. The Muslims gathered around him, reposed faith in his leadership and authorised him to convene a representative meeting of the Muslims of India without any prejudice against the Hindus.[7]

Anthony Macdonell considered the agitation as an attack on his government and tried to brow-beat its leaders. His first blow fell on Mohsinul Mulk. He threatened to withdraw the government aid to the M.A.O. College Aligarh, if the support to the Urdu Defence Association was not withdrawn. Mohsinul Mulk resigned his position as secretary of the College, but continued to serve as a member on the Board of Trustees. His resignation caused a great commotion in the Muslim India. The national press raised a hue and cry and termed the resignation as a national calamity. Mohsinul Mulk submitted to the call of the people and withdrew his resignation but retained his right to participate in politics in his own personal capacity.[8]

In the meantime Bengal was partitioned by Lord Curzon on a purely administrative consideration and a new province of East Bengal and Assam was created with its headquarters at Dacca. This administrative decision had indirectly helped the Muslims who formed a majority in the new province. Nawab Salimullah in his Munshiganj address on the occasion of the inauguration of the new province

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7. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-60. Ikram *op. cit.*, pp. 103-119

8. *Ibid.*

remarked that "the partition has countered our inaction and has given us new life to struggle". He felt that the time had now come to have an association which would provide a platform for the political, social and economic regeneration of the Muslims of India.[9]

The partition was disfavoured by the Hindus of Calcutta, who had their business and political interest in the new province. The congress as a Hindu dominated organization expressed itself against the partition of Bengal and started in its own way a movement to annul the decision. The peacefull boycott of the English merchandise resulted in *violence* and it was all projected to deprive the Muslims of the benefit of the administrative division of Bengal. The terrorism mounted up and a murderous attempt was made on the life of Lord Minto, the then viceroy of India.

Simla Deputation and Separate Elecrorate : This outbrust of political crime terrorised the British government. In 1906 A.D. the Secretary of State for India announced the intention of the government to introduce constitutional reforms. The declaration alarmed the Muslims who had a very bad experience of the elective element of the Indian Councils Act, 1892. Under the provision of the Act the elections were monopolised by the Hindus and with restricted franchise it was not possible even in the Muslim majority area to return a single Muslim representative. At this critical moment Mohsinul Mulk came to their rescue. He organized a deputation to wait on the viceroy to explain to him the state of affairs as they would affect the Indian Muslims. He worked hard. The draft of the address was prepared by Imadul Mulk and the deputation headed by the Agha Khan achieved its objectives. The Muslims put forward the following demands :[10]

1. Separate electrorate.
2. Allocation of more seats for historical and political consideration.
3. Full representation in services and councils.
4. Representation in University senate and syndicates.
5. Aid for the establishment of Muslim University.

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9. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-60, Ikram *op. cit.*, pp. 103-119.
10. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-60.

Replying to the demands put forward by the leaders of the Simla deputation Lord Minto, the then Viceroy of India said, "I am completely in accord with you". Mohsinul Mulk then corresponded with other prominent Muslim leaders including the Agha Khan and pursued further the favourable reply received from the viceroy.[11]

Muslim League : The demand for separate electorate which was indeed a singular initiative of Mohsinul Mulk was conceded. The acceptance of their principle for the Indian Muslims helped him move a little further. He ventured to set up a political organization to safeguard the rights of the Indian Muslims, when political reforms were introduced under a Westminster type of democratic oonstitution. In December, 1906 A.D. the annual session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference was held at Dacca under the chairmanship of Nawab Viqarul Mulk. It was attended by prominent Muslim leaders of the country and it was during this conference that the Muslim leadership agreed to generate political consciousness among the Muslims of India and resolved to form a political organization to protect the rights and preivilges of the Indian Muslims. The resolution to form the All India Muslim League was moved by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca and was seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. The other founder members of the League were Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhari of Bogra and (Justice) Shah Din Humayun of Lahore. A Committee was formed to prepare its draft constitution and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Nawab Viqarul Mulk were appointed secretaries.[12]

The next session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference and the All India Muslim League was held at Karachi in December, 1907 A.D. Adamji Peer Bhai presided over the session of the All India Muslim League. The draft constitution prepared by the committee was adopted with some modification. Within three months of the Karachi session another session of the All India Muslim League was held at Aligarh. It was presided over by (Justice) Shah Din Humayun of Lahore. The All India Muslim League was now a fullyfledged political organization representing the entire Muslim population of

11. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-60.
12. *Ibid.*

India with its branches in all the provinces of British India.[13]

The Agha Khan and Syed Ameer Ali founded a branch of the Muslim League in London and worked hard to keep it an active political organization which could possibly safeguard the interest of the Indian Muslims and as Agha Khan has described in his Memoirs "it was a guerilla warfare to keep Morlay upto the mark in the new constitutional reforms". The Muslim demand for separate electorate had now become an article of faith with the Muslim League ; whereas the Indian National Congress was opposing it tooth and nail. But the Muslim League moved on with the question of separate electorate which was initiated by Sir Syed and vigorously followed by Mohsinul Mulk and other eminent leaders of the movement. As a result of the Minto-Morley reforms the Government of India Act,1909. Incorporated the provision of separate electorate in all the provinces except Burma, Central Provinces, North Western Frontier provinces and the Punjab. The Muslims were generally satisfied with the award.[14]

But the final settlement of the political question had a long way to go. The Indian National Congress was opposed to any such provision which recognized the independent existence of the Muslims with no bondage to the majority community. It was, therefore made abundantly clear that the concession granted in the Act of 1909 was not in accord with the thinking of the Congress. This was a bad omen and prolonged the political struggle in the years to come. The Muslim demand for guarantees and securities was often despised and no serious effort was made to resolve the problem on a realistic plane. Had the principle of multi-national status of India been recognized, an unnecessary power struggle could have been avoided right from the beginning ; but the educated Hindus were averse to it and considered it a great barrier in the process of amalgamation, meaning thereby the absorption of the Muslims into the Hindu society.[15]

In 1911 A.D. the partition of Bengal was annuled to please the Indian National Congress and the Hindus who were opposed to the existence of the province of East Bengal and Assam where the Muslims

13. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-60., Daud, S. T., *op. cit.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-60.

constituted a majority. In the meantime yet another important factor made a distinct mark on the political struggle of the Indian people. The Hindus in the congress from Bengal and Maharashtra had started using Hindu symbols and slogans to arouse the sentiment of the Hindus of ordinary means. At that time Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak and other Hindu leaders from Maharashtra and Bengal dominated the political forum of the congress.[16]

In December 1913 A.D. the annual session of the Congress was held at Karachi in which Bhopindra Nath Basu expressed his good feelings for the Muslims and stressed on the need of better understanding and cooperation. It was during the autumn of the same year when Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah (Later on the Quaid-e-Azam) joined the Muslim League on condition that his association with the League would not in any way curtail his loyalty to the congress. At that time he was the greatest advocate of the Hindu-Muslim unity. In 1914 A.D. the Annual Session of the Congress was held at Bombay. Mr. Jinnah invited the Muslim League to hold its session at Bombay. Both the Congress and the Muslim League in their separate sessions agreed to constitute committees which would consider the special needs of the Muslims. These two committees drew up a scheme for the constitutional reforms of India.[17]

Lucknow Pact : In 1916 A.D. the annual sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League were held simultaneously at Lucknow. The atmosphere was that of amity and understanding. Mr. Jinnah was the President of the League. The scheme which the two committees had drawn at Bombay was approved at Lucknow. This is why this mutual agreement is generally known as Lucknow Pact of 1916. The salient features of the Pact were as follows :[18]

1. The concept of separate electorate was conceded.
2. The Muslims would have separate electorate in their majority provinces where they were not so far introduced.
3. The Muslims would give up the right to vote and contest in the general constituency.

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16. Hasan Riaz; *op. ct.*, pp. 61-80.
17. *Ibid.* 18. *Ibid.*

4. The Muslim weightage in the provinces as noted below should be increased. The share would be Punjab - 50%, U.P. 30%, C.P. 15%, Bombay 35%, Bengal 40%, Bihar 25%, Madras 15%.
5. No bill affecting a particular community should be proceeded within any council, if three-fourths of the representatives of that community opposed it.

This spirit of understanding and cooperation resulted in the incorporation of these terms in the Government of India Act, 1919, which followed the Montague-Chemsford proposals for constitutional reforms. In particular the following two points were conceded :[19]

a. Separate electorate.
b. Allotment of seats for Muslims both at the central and provincial councils.

The Lucknow Pact proved to be the only beconing light on the political horizon of India. If this sense of cooperation could have been carried on, a better atmosphere of understanding and cooperation could have been generated. But the Hindus did not honestly stick to these principles. Instead of understanding and cooperation, mistrust, hatred and non-cooperation crept into the political life of the Indian people. The Lucknow Pact and the non-cooperation movement in which the Congress collaborated with the Khilafat Conference demonstrated the force of unity, and had it been further pushed the political struggle could have marked the beginning of a new era.

In September 1920 A.D. the Calcutta Congress agreed to launch a non-cooperation movement and in December 1920 A.D. the Nagpur Congress did not only affirm the previous decisions, but recommended the following measures to be adopted :[20]

1. surrender of all the British titles.
2. refusal to attend any government function.
3. withdrawal of all students from schools and colleges.
4. boycott of the British law courts by lawyers and litigants.

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19. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-80.
20. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-125. Waheeduzzaman *Towards Pakistan*. Publishers United, Lahore, 1954, p. 25.

5. no service by Indians in the British army in Mesopotamia.
6. no participation in the coming election either as electors or as candidates.

Mr. Jinnah was basically a strict constitutionalist. Although he was not opposed to the programme of agitation, he could hardly see any logic in these measures. But emotions were high and it seemed the country was not prepared to listen to him. The crucial hour had come. Mr. Jinnah finally left the Congress and did not have any intention to come back.[21]

The Hindu-Muslim relations were taking a serious turn and because of religious and social conflicts, they were further strained. It was not uncommon in those days to hear the news of the Hindu-Muslim riots in one part of the country or the other. In 1922 A.D. riots took place in a score of important towns of India and it appeared that they had become a part of daily life. The occurrences continued unabated. The Hindus would find hundreds of excuses to pick up a quarrel with the Muslims and then transform it into a big riot. It might be their arthibhajan in close proximity of a mosque at the time of prayer or it might be any other trivial matter. The reason for generating these riots was to create confidence in the Hindus that they could measure swords with the Muslims without any fear and hesitation and to cause fear among the Muslims to be coerced to submit to their numerical strength.[22]

The Khilafat movement was a forceful struggle against the foreign power and the Hindus knew it. The boldness and the discipline these workers demonstrated during the non-cooperation movement was felt both inside and outside the congress. The Muslim participation in the Congress considerably increased and their impact was felt. In fact "the Congress gained strength and grandeur not because of the Hindus but because of the Muslims." The staunch Hindus could not tolerate it. A gap was therefore, created between the extremist Hindus in the Congress and the Muslims in general. When after the *Chaura Chauri* incident Mr. Gandhi announced the closure of the non-cooperation movement, the otherwise apparent Co-ordination in the non-coopera-

21. Hasan Riaz *op. cit.*, 100-125., Waheeduzzaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Publishers United, Lahore, 1954, p. 25.
22. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-54.

tion movement revealed many cracks.[23]

A powerful Muslim group inside the congress was not tenable for a long time. The congress high command knowingly or unknowingly repudiated the Muslim influence and a cleavage was created. Leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru were in no way less communalist in their attitude. Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Hasrat Mohani got alarmed and parted with the congress. So disgusting was the situation that Mr. Jinnah who was considered the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity had to remark in his address at the 1926 sessions of All India Muslim League.[24]

> The reality that communalism exists in India, cannot be escaped. Only emotions and passage of time cannot heal it and only joint electorate cannot nourish nationhood.

On March 20, 1927 Mr. Jinnah convened a meeting of the Muslim leaders to discuss the future constitutional reforms and particularly the question of separate electorate. Most of the invitees attended the meeting. A thread-bare discussion on separate electorate took place and conditions on which the Muslims could accept joint electorate was worked out. These conditions are generally known as Delhi proposal and are summed up below :[25]

1. Sind should be separated from Bombay and made a separate province.
2. Similar reforms, as have been introduced in other provinces be introduced in NWFP and Baluchistan.
3. On these conditions the Muslims are prepared to accept joint electorate in all the provinces so constituted whereas they also agree to give similar concessions and privileges to the minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP as are agreed to be granted to the minorities in the Hindu provinces.
4. In the Punjab and Bengal representation should be based on population.
5. In the Central Legislative Assembly the Muslims should have one third representation through joint electorate.

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23. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-68.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.* Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

Nehru Committee Report : The Congress accepted the Delhi proposal in May 1927, but soon after the accord the Muslims were subjected to riots. In 1927 the British Government appointed the Indian Statutory Commission headed by Sir John Simon. It was a six member commission drawn from the British Parliament. There was no Indian representation on the Commission. The official circle agreed that "the composition of the commission had to be purely British because the Indians were incapable of arriving at an agreed solution." A purely British memebrship of the commission was not acceptable to the Congress and it sharply reacted and in its annual session held at Madras demonstrated its resentment in the following words :[26]

> The Congress called upon the Indian people to boycott the commission at every stage and in every form, to organize mass demonstration throughout the country on the day of the arrival of the members of the commission, and later in every place at the time of its visit, to carry on vigorous propaganda to make the boycott effective.

The Muslim League also favoured the boycott. Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Maulana Mohammad Ali were its chief exponents. Although a faction of the League headed by Sir Muhammad Shafi of the Punjab passed a resolution in favour of cooperating with commission, the faction led by Mr. Jinnah ultimately succeeded. Mr. Jinnah said "Jallianwala Bagh was the physical butchery. Simon Commission is the butchery of our soul".[27]

Following the arrival of the Indian Statutory Commission, commonly known as Simon Commission, several meetings of all the parties conference were held to discuss the probable constitutional framework of free India, but unfortunately no agreed formula could be evolved. Opinions differed and arguments countered arguments. On May 19, 1928 a meeting of All Parties Conference was convened, but the attendance was very thin. It was in this meeting that a nine member constitutional committee headed by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was appointed and assigned the task of framing a constitution for India. Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru was made to act as the secretary of the committee. The committee worked hard to frame the outlines of the

26. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-68. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-39.
27. *Ibid.*

future constitution, but it failed to accommodate the Muslim points of view. The following are the chief recommendations of the report as far as it was related to the Muslims of the sub-continent.[28]

1. Separate electorate be discarded completely as a condition precedent to any national system of representation.
2. General reservation of seats for any community whether found in a minority or a majority province is a full recognition of communalism and differs little from communal electorates.
3. To weld Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan and Sind into one province "would mean the creation of an unwielday province."
4. A majority reservation or fixation of seats is incompatable with the real representation and responsible government (this was in reference to the Punjab and Bengal).
5. An exeption shall be made in favour of Muslim minorities by permitting reservation of seats in proportion to their population in the central and provincial legislature.
6. Weightage is only possible in separate electorate and has no place in a joint or mixed electorate.
7. The Muslims cannot be allowed reservation over and above the proportion of their population in the central legislature.
8. The status of the NWFP and Baluchistan must be made the same as that of other provinces.
9. It is stated on behalf of the Hindus of Sind and elsewhere that they are strongly opposed to the creation of communal provinces (this refers to the question of separation of Sind from Bombay).
10. Adult franchise will be introduced.
11. The residuary power will be assigned to the central legislature.

The Muslim reaction to the report was not favourable. But since

28. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44.

they were divided into small groups, it was difficult to arrive at any unified course of action. However, Mr. Jinnah tried to press for modification in the Nehru report, but no formula to bridge the gap could be worked. The Hindu opinion was not in favour of giving concessions and safeguards to the Muslim. The basic principles on which some sort of compromise could be reached were not agreed upon. Mr. Jinnah made an effort to convince the All Parties Convention by discussing each demand in detail. But the views so widely differed that it was almost impossible to come to understanding.[29]

In March 1929 the All India Muslim League held its session at Delhi but divided as it was, it was not easy to bring the Muslims together on some unified plan. Mr. Jinnah wanted to resolve the deadlock. He framed a resolution to accommodate all shades of opinion and placed it for approval but was rejected. This resolution was later known as "Fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah", which are enumerated below[30] :

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the province.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy should be granted to all the provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be reconstituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the central legislature, Muslim representative should not be less than one third.
5. The representation of the communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present provided that it should be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.
6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority

29. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-93.

30. Pirzada, S. S., *Foundation of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1969, Volume II, Philips, C. H., *The Evolution of India and Pakistan*, 1858-1947, London, 1962, pp. 236-37.

in the Punjab, Bengal and North Western Frontier Province.

7. Full religious liberty, that is liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.

8. No bill or resolution, or any part thereof, should be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three fourth of the member of any community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or, in the alternative such other method as may be devised or as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

10. Reforms should be introduced in the Nort West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

11. Provision should be made in the constitution, giving the Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all services of the state and self governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguard for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in grants-in-aids given by the state and self-governing bodies.

13. No cabinet, either central or provincial should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim ministers of at least one-third.

14. No change to be made in the constitution by the central legislature except with the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian Federation.

OR

That in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country and of

> other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable and future government being pledged not to deprive the Musalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent, and so long as the Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are safeguarded in the manners specified above (or herein), they would in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates with or without conditions.

One good contribution which the Nehru Committee made was the development of a sense of unity among the Muslims who were torn into faction and small group loyalities. It was realized that without unity and consolidated effort the rigid attitude of the congress in relation to the constitutional development could not be changed. An all parties Muslim conference which was later known as All India Muslim Conference was held at Delhi on December 31, 1928 and on January 1, 1929 to forge unity among the Muslims. The Agha Khan presided. The conference adopted a resolution that demanded a federal rather than a unitary structure of government "with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent units". The resolution also insisted upon separate electorates and due share in the provincial and central legislature. In short most of the previous demands and safeguards already echoed in the Delhi Muslim Proposals Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points formed a significant coverage in the deliberation of the conference, but unfortunately the All India Muslim Conference also failed to achieve any solid result. The Muslim League was further divided. The group favouring the adoption of the Nehru committee report formed the All India National Muslim Party "to promote a spirit of nationalism among Muslims".[31]

The political deadlock was yet to be resolved when in May 1929 Labour Party won the election of the British Parliament and formed the government. The new Prime Minister was very much inclined towards the congress. On June 29, 1929 Mr. Jinnah wrote a letter to the Prime Minister suggesting him to convene a meeting of notable representatives to resolve the constitutional tussle. At the

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31. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-168.

same time the report of the Indian statutory commission was published and Sir John also suggested the convening of a conference. The Commission favoured a federal form of government and gave due consideration to some of the demands Muslims had been putting up to safeguard their rights and privileges. The question of weightage and reservation of seats was particularly discussed and the commission agreed that there was indeed need for safeguards.[32]

The congress started its civil disobedience movement in March 1930 and Mr. Gandhi and the other leaders of the congress were arrested in May of the same year. Meanwhile the Indian Central Committee announced the name of participants in the proposed Round Table Conference (RTC) "with a view to reaching solution". The first Round Table Conference started its deliberation on Nov., 12, 1930. The delegates from the Indian states (16), British India (57) and Great Britain (16) took part in the talks. The Muslim delegation included Maulana Muhammad Ali and Mr. Jinnah. The first Round Table Conference succeeded in forging out a federal structure for a future Indian Government. But federation alone could not guarantee the smooth functioning of the government. The Muslims were apprehensive of the tyranny and domination of the Hindu majority ond demanded safeguards in clear terms. A committee to discuss the possible safeguards for the minority was constituted and the RTC entrusted that important work to this committee. Maulana Muhammad Ali was a member but since he died on January 3, 1931, no definite contribution could have been possibly made. His death removed one of the valiant fighters for the cause of the Muslim regeneration in India. Two days before his death he wrote to the British Prime Minister :[33]

The real problem .... about that.

On January 19, 1931 the British Prime Minister explained the Government policy towards resolving the Indian constitutional problem. It was indicated that full representative government responsible to the provincial and central legislature would be seen established. This trend was quite in accord with the deliberations

32. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-168.,
33. *Ibid.*

of the RTC and its sub-committees.[34]

The second Round Table Conference started in September, 1931. This time Allama Iqbal was also invited to attend the conference. The Irwin Gandhi pact and the assurance given by the British government paved the way to the participation of the Congress in the deliberations. Mr. Gandhi thought it expedient to nominate himself alone. His participation in the conference did not contribute very much ; it had rather hindered the proceedings by raising unnecessary objections and delaying tactics. The sub-committee on the minorities of which Mr. Gandhi was also a member reported its failure to reach any agreement. At this stage Mr. Gandhi suggested that the committee should be wound up and the constitution be hammered into shape without allowing the communal problem to block the progress of constitution making. This stand of Mr. Gandhi was challenged by Mian Muhammad Shafi who contended that without settling the communal problem the framing of constitution would not be possible.[35]

Following this attitude of the Congress and the other Hindu members of the conference the Muslims, the depressed classes, the Angle-Indians, a section of the Indian Christians and the members of the European commercial community met together and agreed to the principle of separate electorates. This combined minority group claimed to represent 46% of the total Indian population, but Mr. Gandhi insisted that the congress represented some 85% of the total Indian population. This created a deadlock and no progress appeared to have been possible for any compromise.[36]

Discussions continued and views exchanged, but the congress was not prepared to commit to any safeguard to be provided for the minorities in the constitution. The situation was depressing. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald warned the parties that in the absence of any agreement on the communal issue amongst the Indian delegates His Majesty's Government would be obliged "to decide as wisely and justly as possible what checks and balances the constitution was to contain to protect minorities from an unrestricted and tyrannical use

34. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-182. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-72.
35. *Ibid.* 36. *Ibid.*

of the democratic principle, expressing itself solely through majority power".[37]

This declaration did not change the political principles of the Indian communities on the communal issue, and therefore no compromise what so ever could have been possibly worked out. As a result of this failure MacDonald announced a provisional scheme for minority representation. This announcement is generally known as "Communal Award", which guaranteed the principle of weightage and made the following allocation of seats in various provinces :[38]

Provincial Representation Under Communal Award

Provinces	Proportion of population	Total seats	Seats Reserved for the Muslims
N.W.F.P.	91.8	50	36
SIND	70.7	60	34
PUNJAB	57.5	175	86
U.P.	15.3	228	66
BIHAR & ORRISA	10.8	175	46
C.P.	04.7	112	14
BENGAL	54.7	250	119
BOMBAY	09.2	125	30
MADRAS	07.9	215	29

Under the provisions of the communal award the Muslims were deprived of their majority in Bengal and the Punjab for which they had a great fight in the following years. The depressed classes were also given the opportunity to put up and vote for their own candidates. But as soon as the content of the award was made known Mr. Gandhi announced fast unto death in order to keep the depressed classes in the fold of Hinduism. He started his fast on September 2, 1932. Prominent Hindu leaders pressed Dr. Ambedkar for joint

37. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-182. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-72.
38. *Ibid.*

electorate with the caste Hindus and he yielded to the pressure. The British Government did not object and so far as depressed classes were concerned, the provisions of the communal award were changed.[39]

Following the declaration of Communal Award a unity conference was organized at Allahabad with the agreement of Maulana Shaukat Ali and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. Several meetings of the conference were held, but nothing substantial came out of it. The Muslims were striving to get their majority in the Punjab and Bengal restored and at least one-third representation given at the centre. The deliberations brought out an agreed formula wherein the Muslims were to get 32% seats in the central legislature and 51% each in the Punjab and Bengal. At this stage the British Government announced an allocation of one-third seats for the Muslims in the central legislature and the separation of Sind from Bombay, but did not change the number of seats in the provinces. The majority in the Punjab, Bengal and Sind was thus reduced to a minority.

A Third Round Table conference was convened in November 1932. It held its sessions from November 17 to December 24, 1932, but since the Congress and the Labour Party kept away from attending the conference, nothing substantial in the process of constitution making was achieved. Meanwhile the British Government was moving ahead with its own programme. Whatever decisions were made at the Round Table Conferences were being considered for resolving the constitutional problems. In March 1933, a white paper on the constitutional proposal was issued and then a Joint-Select Committee of both the houses of the British Parliament was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow to recommend a draft constitution for India. On the basis of the recommendations of thus committee made in December, 1934 a draft constitution was prepared and introduced in the Parliament. This draft was passed by both the houses and was assented by the King on August 4, 1935 ; hence known as the Government of India Act 1935.[40]

The passage and promulgation of the Government of India Act,

39. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-93. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-72.

40. *Ibid.*

1935 set the political stage in motion. But it was the most unopportune time for the Muslims. Maulana Muhammad Ali who was an accepted leader of Muslim India was dead, while Mr. Jinnah decided to stay in England. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Nawab Ismail Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Allama Iqbal and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan were doing their bit to uphold the cause of the Indian Muslims. But the movement required the services of a practical dynamic personality who could easily steer through the troubled waters.[41]

The Government of India Act, 1935 prevailed for a federal government at the centre and autonomous governments wholly responsible to the legislature at the provincial level. The princely states were to cooperate with and participate in the common central government. The Governor General was vested with the authority of assigning the residuary power at his discretion. The Muslims were satisfied to find in the act the principle of separate electorate and weightage and one third Muslim representation at the centre. They were also happy over the introduction of provincial autonomy and the assigning of residuary powers to the Governor General. But they were highly critical of the working of the proposed federal government where the Hindu majority was to preside over the destiny of the Indian Muslims. Mr. Jinnah called the federal scheme as "fundamentally bad, most reactionary, retrograde and fatal to the vital interests of British India visa-a-vis the Indian states." But in spite of all these bad elements the general Muslim opinion was in favour of trying the Act at the provincial level. The congress on the other hand rejected the Act and thought that it curtailed the sovereignty of the people of India in their political and economic future. It demanded the election of a constituent assembly based on "adult franchise or a franchise which approximates to it as nearly as possible." But in the end the Congress decided to contest the elections to be held under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.[42]

The death of Maulana Muhammad Ali caused a leadership vacuum and it appeared at that time the Muslims were passing through a political termoil and there was no leader who had the courage to stand and fight for their cause. Mr. Jinnah was staying

41. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-93. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-85.
42. *Ibid.*

in England under a self imposed exile, but he watched the situation carefully. In 1935 the Muslims of Bombay returned him to the Central Legislative Assembly and provided an occasion to come out of his self-exile. He returned to India and decided to take up task of recognizing the Muslim League as a people's organization.[43]

The All India Muslim League in its session held at Bombay in April 1936 considered the provisions of the Act and decided to give a trial to the provincial scheme. Consequently it was decided to constitute a Parliamentary Board to contest the elections to be held under the provisions of the Act. When this decision was made the Muslim League was not a popular organization. It had groups within the groups and factions within the factions. Its constitution did not have any clear provision for people's participation. How to reorganize the Muslim League to make it an active and progressive organization was the task lying ahead of its organizer. When it was decided to transform it into a people's political organization, Mr. Jinnah toured the country, and as a result of his mass contact things started taking a new shape. A Parliamentary Board consisting of 54 members and representing all shades of Muslim opinion was constituted. Elections were accordingly fought, but the Muslim League failed to achieve any spectacular viciory. In the Punjab most of the Muslim seats were won by the Unionist party. The Muslim League was able to capture only 19 seats out of 175. In Sind the number of seats against which the Muslim League candidates were returned was only 7 out of 60. In Bengal however the Muslim League won as many as 51 seats out of a total of 250. But it was in the minority provinces and particularly in the United Provinces that the League scored a greater success. The congress was returned in an absolute majority in the five provinces *viz.*, U.P., C.P., Bihar, Orrisa and Madras while in Bombay and NWFP it captured sufficiently large number of seats. Hence congress was in a position to form its own ministries in seven provinces and did form the government after securing the necessary clarification.[44]

In July, 1937 the congress assumed power in the provinces and

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43. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-93. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-85.
44. *Ibid.*

stayed in office until the ministries resigned in October and November 1939. The congress was happy over its success and the formation of ministries made it hot-headed and proud. This resulted in such actions that ultimately brought defame to the party. The congress considered the newly gained power as a sufficient ground to demonstrate the will of the majority. In all the seven provinces in which the rule of the congress was established life of the muslims was made miserable. Azan (call to prayer) and Qurbani (animal sacrifice) were banned in some of the provinces and unnecessary hurdles and checks on the religious processions were placed. This aroused the Muslim sentiments and convinced them that the congress was a Hindu organization which aimed at establishing the Hindu Raj in the garb of Western type of democracy. The Congress was more clearly exposed in the Muslim minority provinces. The more it demonstrated its ruthlessness in introducing the Hindu culture the more clear in view the Muslims would become Conditions in the Muslim majority provinces were a little different but all the more not conducive to healthy cultural development. It was true the Muslim League was not in power but there was thing which was a little enduring. The congress did not have the authority to encroach upon the rights and privileges of the Muslims. The high handedness of the congress in the provinces made the Muslim League movement more appealing. It was now becoming powerful in the minority provinces, whereas in the majority provinces it had yet to make its mark[45].

Pirpur Report : When the congress ministries were functioning in the provinces the Muslim League appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Raja Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur to inquire into the injustice done to the Muslims in various provinces when congress was in power. The report produced is known as Pirpur Committee Report wherein the intolerant attitude of the Hindus, their tyranny and oppression were recorded. The major points enumerated by the authors of the report explained the acts of omission and commission of the congress ministries. The introduction of Bande Matram Hindi in place of Urdu the Vidya Mandir Scheme, the encouragement of small rival Muslim organization under the policy of divide and rule, the irregularities committed in the day to day

45. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-193., Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-85.

administration, interference with courts, imposition of Hindu culture and Hindu religion, the worshipping of the picture of Mr. Gandhi were the chief factors which the report had dealt in detail.[46]

The congress victory in the general elections made Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru over jubliant. He declared that "there are only two parties in the country, the Congress and the British". It was an undiplomatic remark. Mr. Jinnah reacted immediately and said, "there is a third party, namely the Muslims", which was not going to be dictated by anybody. The contention of the Indian Muslims to carve their own destiny was made clear, there was no ambiguity in it. But at the same time he was ready to make a compromise with the congress, without sacrificing the cause of the Indian Muslims. The responsibility of this reconciliation lay both on the congress and the Muslim League but in a way the Congress was more responsible than the League. It had the power and strength to make concessions, and if understanding could be developed there was nothing substantial to sacrifice. But the congress did not react favourably. During the formation of the ministries the role of the top congress leaders was deplorable, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad particularly played a significant role for the congress and the result was that Hindu-Muslim coalition governments could not be formed in any of the provinces ruled by the Congress. Sticking to the principle of majority rule in a heterogeneous society was to expect too much out of the system. Coalition governments could not be considered as ideal, but in the peculiar social and economic composition of the Indian people it demanded a different arrangement than merely to depend upon the Westminster type of democracy.[47]

In March, 1937 Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru made yet another move. He bluntly refused to show any gesture of compromise with the 'communal organization' and announced his decision of mass contact. He declared that talking of Muslims as a group was a medieval concept and had no place in the modern world. While there was nothing wrong in the programme of the Muslim mass

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46. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-93. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-10.
47. Hasan Riaz. *op. cit.*, pp. 193-205. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-17.

contact and the congress had the means to make it a success. But in spite of loud assertions and the mass contact movement, it failed to succeed in its objective. The lofty talks of nationalism and prospects of economic prosperity had but little appeal to the Muslims. As has been truly said, "man does not live by bread alone", the Muslims did not find any fascination in the congress and its programme. But still the offer of ministerial offices captivated a few Muslims who who were easily won over by the congress. This made the congress fortified and stubborn. It kept away from reacting any settlement with the Muslims and at the same time this stiffening attitude of the congress made Mr. Jinnah comparatively more stiffened. On the whole the situation was discouraginly hard and the League found itself in a very tight corner.[48]

In October 1937 the Muslim League met at Lucknow to make it a mass movement and consolidate the party within its own ranks and files. In his presidential address Mr. Jinnah accused the congress of alienating the Muslims "by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu". The Muslim League was now coming out of its outer cover and was really becoming a mass organization.[49]

These events followed the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. But unfortunately the adamant attitude of the congress and particularly that of Mr. Gandhi the talks did not reach any point of compromise. The evading Gandhi had to face a straightforward Jinnah who said:[50]

> "We have reached a stage when no doubt should be left that you recognise the All-India Muslim League as the one authoritative and representative organization of the Muslims of India and, on the other hand, you represent the congress and other Hindus throughout the country. It is only on that basis that we can proceed further and devise a machinery of approach".

The issue of recognition remained under fire. The congress was adamant to accommodate any other point of view and thus the controversy was prolonged. Mr. Jinnah also exchanged a series of

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48. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-205. Waheed *op. cit.*, pp. 102-117.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*, Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-115.

letters with Mr. Nehru but nothing substantial came out of it. The congress leadership refused to recognize the League as the sole representative of the Muslim India, whereas the League insisted on this recognition.[51]

The organizational plan was actively pursued when the Government of India also declared war against the axis power and tried to enlist the support of the political organizations in India. The viceroy invited Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress and Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim League to discuss the war issue. Mr. Gandhi met him first and demonstrated his humanitarianism towards the war problem, but made it clear that he was not in a position to commit anything on behalf of the congress as he was not even its four anna member. Mr. Jinnah explained that he could not say anything unless the All India Muslim League Working Committee had authorised him to do so. But at the same time he was amused to find that he was treated at a par with Mr. Gandhi for the first time in the political struggle of India.[52]

The working committee reviewed the whole situation and sympathised with the allied powers, but at the same time made that the Muslims were subjected to oppression and tyranny in the provinces ruled by the congress and that the British governors of the provinces failed to protect them. The resolution of the Muslim League also reiterated its stand that the Government should declare that in any future constitutional development no scheme would be accepted unless approved by the Muslim League. On the other hand the congress resolution also sympathised with the Western democracies and condemned Germany, but made it clear that India could not participate in any war effort in the name of democratic principles until it was itself denied the democratic rights.[53]

Assessing the mood of the Congress and Muslim League the viceroy decided to meet the leaders of the parties once again. Mr. Gandhi in his talks insisted on the freedom of framing a constitution. Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru and Babu Rajandra Prasad also favoured the establishments of an independent constituent assembly which

51. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-205.

52. *Ibid.* 53. *Ibid.*

would frame a constitution on the basis of numerical majority and vehemently opposed the convening of an all parties conference to sort out the differences. But the viceroy continued meeting the leaders of different shades of opinion. In the meantime the Government declared that it would accept a constitution framed by the Indians themselves provided all political organizations agreed upon it. But the congress was not satisfied with this declaration. On October 22, 1939 and then on November 19, 1943 the working committee of the All India Congress refused to support the Great Britain in its war efforts against Germany and repeated the demand for a constituent assembly. The Muslim League took the middle of the road course. On October 22 the working committee expressed its satisfaction over the recognition of "the right and interest of the minorities, but it was critical that the whole Act of 1935 was not being scrapped whereas the Muslim League stood for the revision of the entire structure of the future constitution of India.[54]

In the autumn of the year 1939 the Congress Working Committee directed the provincial congress ministries to resign. Accordingly all the Congress ministries went out of office between October 27, 1939 and November 15, 1939. On December 2, 1939 the Muslim League decided to observe the "Day of Deliverance" on December 22, 1939. Mr. Jinnah suggested the following resolution to be passed at meetings held all over the country :[55]

> "It expresses its deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime in various provinces and rejuices in observing this day as the 'Day of Deliverance' from tyranny, opperation and injustice during the last two and a half years, and prays to God to grant such strength, discipline and organization to Muslim India as to successfully prevent the advent of such a ministry again to establish a trully popular ministry which would do even justice to all communities and interests".

The day of deliverance was observed throughout the country. The urban and rural population in towns and villages participated with a feeling of relief.

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54. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-205. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-22.
55. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

EMERGENCE OF PAKISTAN

The political atmosphere during and after the congress rule was disappointing. There appeared to have been no possibility of any approachment between the Congress and the League. The Congress was still working for an elected constituent assembly based on adult franchise while the Muslim League was opposed to a system of majority decision in the assembly the stand was firm and time and again it was made abundantly clear that any constitutional solution imposed on the Muslims would not be acceptable. While the political controversy on this issue between the two principal parties was also escalating high. Japan had threatened the very existence of the European imperial powers in the South East Asia whereas India was equally exposed to the advancing Japanese force, and the British were anxious to counter any Japanese attack on India.[1]

In December 1939 Sir Stafford Cripps enroute to China stayed for some time at Allahabad as a guest of Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru. In a Press statement he gave some kind of assurances to the congress about the convening of a constituent assembly consisting of Indian

1. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-35.

members. This made him popular among the Hindus, but any such arrangement without any safeguard was not acceptable to the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah met the viceroy at Bombay and explained to him the following five conditions for a possible constitutional compromise until the war was over : [2]

1. There shall be coalition governments at the provincial level.
2. No law which affects the Muslims and is opposed by a two-thirds majority of the elected Muslim representatives of the lower house can be enacted.
3. The congress flag should not be hoisted on public institutions.
4. Some agreement must be reached about Bande Matram.
5. The congress should stop its destructive activities against the Muslim League.

But the Congress remained adamant and in spite of the solid efforts made by the Muslim League no compromise could be reached. It was rigid in its demand for electing a constituent assembly which would enable the Hindus to exert their influence on the basis of its absolute majority, but it was not tenable and Mr. Jinnah made it clear "that it is impossible to work a democratic parliamentary government in India". The Hindu leaders had ignored and bypassed his suggestion, and effort to make compromise reached its breaking point. Now there was no choice left, either to submit to the conditions laid down by the Hindu Congress or to steer through its course under hard circumstances. The Muslim League decided to take up the later course with courage and determination. Could it be worthwhile to ask for safe guards or to carve one's own destiny ? This question agitated the mind of each individual and after deliberations the Muslim League instead of asking for constitutional safeguards, resolved to work for an independent homeland. This move had startled all.[3]

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2. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-35.
3. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-308.

The demand for an independent Muslim homeland was the natural result of the obstinacy of the congress during the long period of struggle for independence. The assurances demanded to allay the Muslim fears were dispised and ignored. The congress was largely depending on the role of the nationalist Muslims who had made a common cause with the Congress. But the things were different now. The Indian Muslims had by now learnt to defend and preserve their cultural heritage. This realization was gaining ground since the days of Shah Waliullah and Sir Syed who tried to save them from decay and destruction.[4]

Sir Syed knew the dangers lying ahead in a parliamentary democracy and advised the Muslims not to join the congress. He was apprehensive of the elective control of the majority and, therefore, suggested the adoption of separate electorate and reservation of seats in any future democratic set up. Mohsinul Mulk went a little further and struggled hard to make separate electorate a political reality. But the controversy of joint electorate and separate electorate took the congress to a point of no return.[5]

The recommendation of the Nehru Committee had a built in structure of the Hindu domination, whereas the fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah summed up the possible safeguards the Indian Muslims had urged the Hindus to concode. The Round Table Conference centred around these two divergent points of view resulted in the Communal Award and The Government of India Act 1935, guaranteeing separate electorates for the Muslims. The Muslim League tried to come to some understanding with the congress but the Hindu leadership was so stiff in its attitude that any understanding on the Muslim demand for safeguards was impossible. When the Lucknow Pact was signed, there was a reciprocal appreciation for accommodating each others point of view which led to a conscious effort to develop amity and understanding.[6]

The years that followed the Lucknow Pact were unusual. The

4. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-308.

5. Supra, Aligarh Movement.

6. Supra.

adamant attitude of the authors of the Nehru Committee Report in general and that of the Congress in particular threw the Muslims into a doldrum and it appeared it would be difficult, if not impossible to steer through. Various antidotes and remedies were suggested, but no final talisman was found. The Fourteen Points were advocated to form a basis for a compromise but the congress refused to make them a basis for any political dialogue. The situation, therefore, became dormant. On the one hand the Muslim League desired to work out a possible solution within the framework of united India, on the other hand the Hindus were not willing to give any concession whatsoever. Forced and pressed by the circumstances the Muslims thought of various ways and means to secure some safeguards. But when totally baffled they began thinking in terms of a separate homeland. In 1930 Dr. Mohammad Iqbal presided over the annual session of the All India Muslim League held at Allahabad and gave his memorable address which ultimately formed the basis for the Pakistan movement. In his presidential address he specifically showed the way to Pakistan. He said :[7]

> "The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India is, therefore, perfectly justified. I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."

The concept of grouping the North-Western provinces into an administrative unit was the beginning of the realization that the Muslims were in need of some central authority to save their cultural heritage and promote it according to the demands of modern times. Dr. Iqbal did not envisage to have a separate and independent state but he visualized that the welding of the North-Western area into an

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7. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-37.

administrative unit as a constituent part of the Indian federation appeared to be the destiny of this area.[8]

When Iqbal made these assertions things were in a fluid state. The period following the Nehru Committee Report was not ripe for any political settlement because tempers were high. The Hindu aspiration in the congress was geared for a Hindu dominated India ; whereas the Muslims were afraid of the Hindu hedgemony, where there would be no alternative but to submit to the will of the Hindu majority. It was in such an environment that the British Government convened the Round Table Conferences. Dr. Iqbal participated in the Second Round Table Conference. But no tangible result came out. The only consolation the Muslims had was the announcement of the "Communal Award" for the minorities. Which ultimately formed the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935.[9]

Following the promulgation of the act the floating Muslim political leaders had consciously realized for the creation of a well disciplined and powerful organization to safeguard their interests. This vacuum was filled by the Muslim League. Within a short period of time it had become a robust political organization ready to play its vital role in the coming years. But there was no change in the attitude of the top leaders in the congress. They stuck to the question of joint electorate and the parliamentary form of government. No amount of persuasion could convince the Hindus to concede to the Muslim demands for safeguards, which as the majority community they should have conceded. The provincial Congress ministries ruled the provinces with a Hindu mind and with a view to imposing Hindu culture on the Muslims. Since Islam stands for one God and bowing to anybody except Allah is not permissible, this came in direct conflict with the Hindu worshipping several gods and dieties. Similarly their entire socio-economic life was different. The Muslims believed in the equality and dignity of mankind, whereas the Hindu society was based on the concept of Brahmins and untouchables.

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8. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-37., Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*

9. Supra.

The religious and culturaldifferences among the Hindus and Muslims and much more their scheme to destroy Urdu as the chief medium of culture and inter communication could not let them unite politically. The fear of the Hindu domination and their resistance to the just demand for necessary safeguards against the Hindu majority made them sceptical. The more the resistance the more the fear.[10]

The All India Muslim League, under the capable leadership of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, was gradually transforming into a people's organization. It was now no more committed to protect any vested interest. The Muslim India consciously stood up to safeguard its own language, culture and whatever it had inherited from its past. There is no doubt the assuming of the responsibility of guiding the political, economic and social destiny of the Indian Muslims was difficult, but the goal was not far to reach. The Round Table Conferences held in London provided the necessary momentum. While the Muslim intelligentsia was moving at a miraculously fast speed to realize the goal. As early as January 28, 1933 Choudhry Rahmat Ali, a graduate student at the University of Cambridge (U.K.) wrote a pamphalet entitled "Now or Never". In this pamphalet he advocated a "Federation of Pakistan", separate from the "Federation of India". But unfortunately the pamphalet did not receive the necessary publicity and went unnoticed for some time. Choudhry Rahmat Ali and his fellow students who signed this pamphalet were clear in their mind that the destiny of Muslim India lay in carving out an independent homeland.[11]

Pakistan is a Persian word which literary mean the "land of the pure". It is claimed that Choudhry Rahmat Ali invented the word Pakistan. But at the initial stage the political pendits of the time did not take it seriously. Even the Muslim repudiated it as a student's scheme. But in his drive to establish a homeland for the Indian Muslims Mr. Jinnah was not ambigious. The ambiguity lay

10. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-261.

11. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-61. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-68.

in the fact that the Muslims in general failed to appreciate it. The time had yet to come when the realization of a Muslim homeland was to become a reality.[12]

Besides Choudhry Rahmat Ali many other Muslim political thinkers also advanced their views of division or redistribution of boundaries and administrative power, but the fateful moment came in March 1940, when the annual session of the All India Muslim League was held at Lahore. The Quaid-i-Azam in his presidential address made a detailed survey of the Indian political situation and asserted that India was never united. For centuries it was divided between Muslim India and Hindu India and so would it remain in the future. The customs, traditions and the entire mode of civilization of these two people were different. They were different not only in their religious beliefs, but their entire outlook of life bore a different imprint. There were more shades of dissimilarity than those of similarity. He said :[13]

> The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions.

The stage was now set for the demand of a separate independent homeland for the Muslims of India. The Muslim public opinion following the congress rule in the Muslim minority provinces proved beyond any doubt that the rights and privileges of Muslims could not be protected under a parliamentary form of government. It had been seen that the brute forces of the majority without any democratic traditions made the Hindu rulers tyrannical in their behaviour, and in the absence of any administrative experience they acted in a manner that could not be expected of a democratic society.[14]

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12. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-61. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-68.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*

The Lahore session of the Muslim League was convened when the memory of the Khaksar tragedy in the Punjab was still fresh. The Quaid-i-Azam cancelled all the programmes of public promp and show. The session was held in the open space of Minto Park (now Iqbal Park) under the enlarging shadows of the minarets of the Badshahi Masjid and the Lahore Fort. Lakhs of people from all over India gathered at Lahore to pay homage to their leaders and listen to the fateful decision the All India Muslim League was to make. On March 23, 1940 in a packed pindal Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq, the Chief Minister of Bengal moved the following resolution :[15]

> Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles. That geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.
>
> "That adequate and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights of interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them".

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15. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-61., Waheed, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

The resolution was seconded by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, and it was further supported by a score of other prominent leaders representing various provinces of India was unanimously adopted among the thundering slogans of Takbir. Today the Muslim India had discovered its own destiny and in very specific terms spelled out its own destination and course of action. Leaders from all over the country endorsed the views expressed in the resolution, which were equally shared by the common man. A line of direction had been found out long after the loss of empire in India. It was a happy moment to revitalize its political activity by initiating a struggle for self-determination in the areas where they constituted a numerical majority. The task was hard and complicated and the Indian Muslims knew that it would have to go a long way to achieve an independent homeland.[16]

When the Lahore Resolution was passed the political atmosphere of India was not favourable for the Muslims. The Hindus were powerful and the Congress was a well organized party. It was difficult to break through the barricade erected by the congress and the nationalist muslims who decided to collaborate with the congress. On the other hand the Muslim majority provinces had no experience of the political atrocities of the congress committed in the muslim minority provinces. They were thus unaware of the many of the misdeeds of the congress rule and its capability of repeating them in the future. In the muslim minority provinces the congress rule had humbled them down and subjected them to all sorts of humiliation. It was, therefore, not unnatural that the Muslim League found its roots in the minority provinces. But later on these difficulties were encountered and the movement received a great momentum both in the minority and the majority provinces. The distribution of Muslim population in relation to the provinces is given below :[17]

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16. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-61.

17. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-96. Indian Census, 1941.

Muslim Population :

Provinces	Status	Muslim (per cent)	Hindus including others (per cent)
N.W.F.P.	Majority	91.8	9.2
SIND	,,	70.7	29.3
PUNJAB	,,	57.5	42.5
U. P.	Minority	15.3	84.7
BIHAR & ORRISA	,,	10.8	89.2
C. P.	,,	4.7	95.3
BENGAL	Majority	54.7	45.3
BOMBAY	Minority	9.2	80.8
MADRAS	,,	7.9	92.1
ASSAM	,,	33.7	66.3

The chart shows that the Muslims constituted a majority in the NWFP, Sind, Punjab and Bengal ; whereas they were in a minority in the other provinces of British India. The princely states were not included in the estimate. The Lahore Resolution referred to the Muslim majority area in the North-West comprising Punjab, NWFP, Sind and other contiguous areas including the State of Jammu and Kashmir, while in the North East it comprised Bengal and Assam.[18]

The passage of the Lahore Resolution brought a velley of criticism. Mr. Gandhi and many other Hindu leaders in particular and the Hindu press in general repudiated two nation theory. But the Quaid-i-Azam with determination and sincerity of purpose encountered all attacks from all sides and proved that by all cannons of law we are a nation". It was true because Muslims were basically different from the Hindus in their cultural, social and ideological makeup. Their mode of living, eating habits, social standards and economic norms were so different that they could not

18. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-96. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-218.

be possibly hummered out into a nation. A series of arguments and counter arguments continued for some time. The powerful Hindu press with the British backing was making a mountain out of a mole hill. No amount of reasonable arguments could convince the Hindus that partitioning of the British India into Pakistan and Hindustan was in the best interest of the two principal communities.

One of the major arguments against Pakistan related to position of the Muslim minority population left in the Hindu India. It was suggested that it would be a great injustice to minority provinces because mass inter-change of population would not be possible. This plea was encountered on the ground that agreed checks and balances would resolve the problem. The Muslim minority in the Hindu India could expect the same type of treatment which were guaranteed to the Hindu in the Muslim India or Pakistan. Moreover, a prosperous and militarily powerful Pakistan would safeguard the interest of the Muslim minorities. The Muslims in the minority provinces would at least have the satisfaction of freeing six to seven crore Muslims to constitute a sovereign independent state. The Pakistan Resolution had also provided for the adequate effective and mandatory safeguards for the protection of the minorities on reciprocal basis.[19]

The battle for Pakistan was now initiated. The Quaid-i-Azam has assigned for himself the stupendous task of organising the Muslims as a united force and encountering the attacks of the enemies of Pakistan. Now the chief creed of the All India Muslim League was Pakistan, and from the snow packed Korakoram to the waters of Ras Kumari and from the Khyber Pass to the confines Arakan there was heard only one voice—the voice for Pakistan. The old and the young, the children and the women were united into a formidable force to achieve Pakistan. The Urdu epithet that we shall achieve Pakistan (لے کے رہیں گے پاکستان) sounded as a clarion call and the world had seen that when a nation welded together as a united force

19. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-68. Waheed, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-218.

moved forward under the capable guidance of its leaders no power on earth could stop it.[20]

Mr. Gandhi once remarked that "the two nation theory is an untruth", but with sincerity of purpose and hard work this so-called untruth was proved as a living truth. On the contrary the Hindu-Muslim unity in the real sense of the word was a myth. It had never been effected during a thousand year Muslim rule in India which at that time included Kabul and other parts of modern Afghanistan. It is true that a sort of administrative unity was brought about after the country was conquered by the Muslims and lately by Great Britain. But this apparent administrative unity failed to produce cohesion in culture and living patterns. Both in the urban and the rural communities the Hindus and the Muslims continued to keep their indentity. The contact was confined only to trade and business but apart from that there was no other possible meeting ground.[21]

This diversity in culture brought diversity in outlook and attitude and when the Mughal empire declined and the colonial power made its hold tight, these differences were further institutionalized. The educated Hindus under the yoke of a parliamentary form of government discovered new power and authority. The concept of majority domination and the establishment of Hindu Raj was well demonstrated when the Hindus obtained power in some provinces. As such the position was very tricky. The Hindus dreamed to promote Hindu Raj through legislative majority, while the Muslims were afraid of the Hindu domination even in the daily life of a Muslim. This conflict of intent and purposes made things irreconcilable. It was, therefore, not possible to reach any compromise. What the Muslims demanded in the beginning were safeguards in respect of certain legislative and administrative powers. But unfortunately the Hindu leadership did not agree to accommodate the Muslims in spite of the fact that they constituted an absolute majority in any representative

20. Hasan Riaz and Waheed, *op. cit.*

21. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-368.

government. The gulf, therefore, further widened. It seemed there had been no meeting ground for common, social and economic goals.

When the Muslim demand to allay their fears was totally turned down and no responsible Hindu leader including Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru showed any magnanimty in giving small concessions to the Muslim minority of India, they were pushed hard to work for their existence. The events that followed the passing of the Pakistan Resolution on March 23, 1940 made the Muslims convinced that cooperation and fellow-feeling could not be developed with the Hindus unless they recognised the existence of the Muslims in the sub-continent.

The Lahore resolution demanded the establishment of a free and independent state. The congress had not only resisted the move, but had also speeded up its propaganda machinery against the Muslim League. During these years the British Government was getting more seriously involved in the war. Germany and Japan had almost strangulated the allied powers. Germany had advanced against the USSR, while Japan had bombarded the Pearl Harbour, thereby forcing the US administration to participate in the war directly. Most of the countries in the Western Europe including France surrendered to Nazi Germany. Whereas in the South-East Asia as well things looked rather bleak. Japan had driven out Holland and Britain as big imperial powers in the region.[22]

The great losses in the war was causing disappoinment in Great Britain and the British Government was inclined to give serious thought to the Indian situation. But this fell short of the Indian expectation. Remedies after remedies and prescriptions after prescriptions were suggested, but the Indian opinion rejected to accept these proposals. The congress was demanding the declaration of the objectives of war, establishment of an independent constituent assembly and the formation of a national government at the centre

22. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-64.

and following the war full freedom for India. The Muslim League did not agree with the congress inasmuch as the defining of the rights of the Indian Muslims was concerned. The congress wanted the issue to be left to the constituent assembly where the Hindus would have an absolute majority. Such a position was not acceptable to the Indian Muslims and the deadlock continued. The Muslim League was clear in its mission of establishing Pakistan. It had now emerged as a better and disaplined organization ready for any sacrifice.[23]

In the meantime the Secretary of State for India made certain pronouncement regarding the future constitutional set up of India. This caused concern and the Muslim League gave its rebuttal. It decided to celebrate March 23, the day Lahore Resolution was passed, as 'Independent Day'. The objective was to hold local meetings to explain to the Muslim masses the aims of the Lahore resolution for the creation of Pakistan.[24]

In April 1941, the annual session of the All India Muslim League was held at Madras. In his speech the Quaid-i-Azam surveyed the political situation in India and explained the Muslim League point of view. He said that the ideology of the Muslim League was based on the principle that the Muslims of India were a separate nation and that any effort to merge them with the Hindus would be opposed. In the summer of 1941 the axis powers had obtained big gains in the battle field. The viceroy hurried to make a statement about the re-organization of his Executive Council and the creation of a National Defence Council. He did not consult the President All India Muslim League and nominated the members of the Muslim League on the council. Such a position was not acceptable to the Muslim League. It demanded its members to resign the membership of the National Defence Council. Sir Sikandar Hayat and Sir Saadullah complied with the decision, but Maulvi Fazlul Haq did not submit to the party discipline. Accordingly disciplinary action was taken against him

23. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit,*, pp. 307-64.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80.

and he was forced out of the organization.[25]

Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Mr. Roozvelt met in a ship named Augusta near New Foundland and declared that one of the objectives of the war would be to respect the sovereignty of other people and to restore to them who had lost it. This declaration is generally known as the Atlantic Charter. The declaration was welcomed in India, but soon afterwards Mr. Churchill clarified that the Atlantic Charter would not possibly be applied to India and other dependencies of the empire, because the Government had certain obligations in regard to the minorities living therein. This enraged the congress and the Hindus.[26]

Cripps Mission : Still there was no turning point in the war. Japan and Germany were making gainful advances. The British Government at this stage desired to have direct participation of India in the war effort. Mr. Churchill appointed a cabinet committee to be known as India Committee. It was headed by Mr. Atlee, while Sir Staford Cripps was a member of the committee. The British Government decided to send him to India to negotiate. Sir Stafford reached India on March 29, 1942.[27]

On March 29, he addressed a press conference and explained the British war cabinet decision :[28]

(*a*) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India.

(*b*) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution making body.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject

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25. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-68.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-96.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 297-308.
28. Philips, *Evolution*, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-73.

only to :—

> The right of any province of British India that is not prepared the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position. Provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decided. With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian union.

The annual session of the All India Muslim League was held at Allahabad from April 3 to April 6, 1942 but since the talks were still going on no definite decision was taken at the Allahabad session and therefore no resolution was moved. The Quaid-i-Azam only explained them in his presidential address and elucidated the stand of the Muslim League.[29]

The draft proposal was rejected by all the political parties working for the independence of the country. But the content of the proposal had at least one satisfying element. For the first time the British conceded to the point that some of the provinces, if they so desired, could constitute a union of their own other than and independent of the Indian union but several other points contained in the draft proposal fell short of the Muslim demand. The Muslim League working committee deliberated on these proposals from March 27, 1942 to April 11, 1942 and rejected the proposal. It was pointed out that the provision for the proportional representation and passage of the constitution through majority vote, plebiscite on the basis of adult franchise, the case of any deadlock and similar other provisions negated what had been offered to the Muslims in response to their demand of self determination.[30]

Sir Stafford Cripps was considered a close friend of the congress, and the congress pinned great hopes on some of his utterances. But the outcome failed to satisfy to its expectations. Mr. Gandhi was

29. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-308.
30. *Ibid.*

disappointed and got enraged. Mr. Cripps went back to England and the Secretary of State for India declared in the House of Commons that any national government responsible to the majority of the electorates would mean a Hindu majority. Since the Muslims and other minorities did not subscribe to this point of view any such proposal could not possibly get the necessary cooperation. The statement had made it clear that the Cripps proposal had come to an end, but a united India was still the chief objective of the British Government.[31]

The congress directly and through Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru tried hard to establish its control on the central government, but it did not materialize. Mr. Gandhi showed a tendency of violence in his demand that the British must quit India. The only person in the congress, who clearly conceived that without some kind of compromise with the Muslims India would not get any thing was C. Rajgopalachari. In fact he went a step forward and got a resolution approved by the Madras Legislative Assembly for consideration of the All India Congress Committee scheduled to be held at Allahabad. The resolution recommended that if the Muslim League was insisting on the division of India before any constitution was framed, it was an appropriate time to negotiate with the League. But the proposal was rejected by the congress and Rajaji was condemned and ridiculed outright. He resigned from the primary membership of the congress to free himself to convince the congress that it was the most essential step in the Indian struggle for independence. In his proposal he wanted to have the basis of a political talk, but basically he was not in favour of the division.[32]

Quit India Resolution :

In the meantime the congress working committee met at Wardh and on July 14, 1942 passed a resolution wherein it was stated that the British must quit India and leave its affairs to its people. It was also stated that so long the British stayed in India neither there could

31. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-308.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-30.

be any solution of the communal problem nor could there be any effective plan for defence. Since Japan had already occupied Burma and there was every possibility of Assam and Bengal being the next targets of invasion. The congress considered it an opportune time to strike. It was generally presumed that the congress was in league with the Japanese. The Quaid-i-Azam could easily see through the game. He said that the congress had not only denied their demand of self determination, but was creating a situation to destroy the Pakistan scheme.[33]

On August 8, 1942 the Congress committee met at Bombay and approved the "QUIT INDIA" resolution passed by the working committee and endorsed that in case the Great Britain did not quit India immediately, an extensive mass movement based on non-violence be started under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. The committee and specially Mr. Gandhi thought that the Government was not in a position to take any serious step against the congress. But on the contrary the Government of India acted promptly and by August 19, 1942 all the members of the working committee including Mr. Gandhi were interned.[34]

What followed the passing of the "Quit India" resolution was sad and disappointing. Riots took place, public property was looted and burnt and several public servants were indiscriminately wounded and murdered. It was a ghastly incident. The whole country was plunged in darkness. The reaction of the Government of India was sharp. It took severe action to suppress the violence and chaos in which the Hindu students openly participated. Punitive taxes were imposed on the rioting area and in spite of the fact that the Government of India had a clear knowledge that the Muslims did not participate in the riot repressive measures taken against the congress mass movement did not spare the Muslims. The working Committee of the All India Muslim League in its meeting held at Bombay from August 16 to August 20, 1942 condemned the congress that it had made an attempt to negate the Muslims their rights of

33. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-30. 34. *Ibid.*

self-determination and called upon the British Government to guarantee the right of self-determination [35]

Althoug severe action was taken against the congress the official British opinion was still in its favour. It was not prepared to meet the Muslim demand of self-determination, but was rather obstructing the passage of Muslim demand for an independent homeland. In December of the same year Lord Linlithgow affirmed his faith in an undivided India, which showed there was no fundamental change in the British official stand. The Quaid-i-Azam reviewed the whole question of the Hindu-Muslim relationship and the constitutional arrangements. He reiterated the stand the Muslim League had taken for self-determination and proposed the setting up of a committee of action to look after all the organizational matter and to coordinate the activities of the Indian Muslims in such a way that they should have a united policy and necessary force to implement them. He also proposed the establishment of an All India Parliamentary Board to see that the elections and bye-elections were carefully handled. And all this had been possible because the Muslim League was now an organized and disciplined body and Muslim India was solidly united under the banner of Islam.[36]

In the meantime the war had taken another turn. It was now clear that the allies would win the war Lord Linlithgow relinquished his charge on October 20, 1943 and Lord Wavell was appointed the next viceroy and governor general of India. Like many other influential Englishmen he also declared that the geography could not be changed and that India was a single natural unit. Mr. Gandhi still in confinement tried to see the viceroy and influence the British Government to agree to the formation of a Congress Government at the centre. But these overtures failed. The Government of India did not accept his plea for the formation of the Central Government fully responsible to the elected members of the central legislature and did not allow him to confer with the members of the working com-

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35. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-30.
36. *Ibid.*

mittee of the congress.[37]

Meanwhile Mr. Rajagopalachari in concurrence with Mr. Gandhi sent to the Quaid-i-Azam the following formulate from the basis of Jinnah-Gandhi discourse:[38]

1. Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for Free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will cooperate with the congress in the formation of a provisional Government for the transitional period.
2. After the termination of the war, a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decided in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such division shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right districts on the border to choose to join either state.
3. It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.
4. In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.
5. Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.
6. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.[39]

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37. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-49.
38. Philips, *Evolution*, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-56.
39. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-49.

This formula is generally known as Rajaji formula. But since there was no change in the stand of the Congress for any compromise the talks abruptly came to an end.

Mr. Gandhi wanted to shroud the issue and quietly achieve his objective of transfer of power. On the one hand he corresponded with the Government and on the other entered into a prolonged dialogue with the Quaid-i-Azam and although the talks could have ended the second day of their begining they continued for a long time. In his usual mood Mr, Gandhi initiated the talks by asserting that he was talking neither as a member of the congress nor as a Hindu, while the Quaid-i-Azam was participating in the talks as representative of Muslim India. This stand of Mr. Gandhi was untenable. How could a man not responsible to his organization commit to any definite proposals ? It was his usual tactics and there was nothing new in it. It was an effort on his part to sidetrack the issue or gain time. The talks failed and the tactical approach to defame the Quaid-i-Azam also failed. Instead his personality was further elevated.[40]

Lord Wavell and the Simla Conference : The British defeat in Burma caused the withdrawal of the forces and their officers commanding. But following the withdrawal Lord Wavell was assigned a still difficult task. He was appointed viceroy of India in place of Lord Linlithgow. He consulted the India office in London and discussed the Indian problem with the provincial governors. On March 3, 1945 he proceeded to England and consulted the India Committee. On May 6, 1946 Germany surrendered and the war in Europe came to an end. Things looked a little brightened. He was therefore, given a mandate to work on a possible constitution for India. On June 14, 1945 he issued a statement of policy of His Majesty's Government. This statement is generally known as "WAVELL PLAN". The chief proposals of the plan that had made clear the intentions of the Government was not to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities may be

40. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-49.

summed up as follows :[41]

4. The Executive Council shall be reconstituted to have a proportionate and balanced representation of the main communities including equal proportions of Muslims and caste Hindus.

2. The viceroy will call into conference a member of leading India politicians and invite them to give a list of names for appointment.

3. The members of the Executive Council shall be Indians with the exception of the viceroy and the commander-in-chief.

4. Nothing contained in any of these proposals will effect the relations of the crown with the Indian states.

5. If such cooperation can be achieved at the centre it will no doubt be reflected in the provinces.

6. The External Affairs for the British India shall be placed in the charge of an Indian member and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad.

Mr. Gandhi resented that Muslims were given a weightage equal to caste Hindus, and sent a telegram to the viceroy that by presenting these proposals he had made a distinction between the caste and the scheduled caste Hindus. The congress declined to approve the plan as such. The Muslim League did not fall into the trap of equating Muslims with caste Hindus, because it was clear that when it would come to voting Hindus would be united together. The viceroy invited 21 leaders representing various shades of Indian political opinion to a conference scheduled to be held at Simla on June 25, 1945. The conference was held on schedule. But nothing substantial came out of it. The conference went on recess to enable the Quaid-i-Azam and Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant to discuss various

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41. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.* pp. 350-64. *Evolution*, pp. 376-78.

proposals and come to some understanding. But the discourse did not bear any result. On June 29, the viceroy invited the parties to give a panel of names for the Executive Council. The congress sent its list on July 6, 1945 whereas the Quaid-i-Azam met the viceroy on July 8, and made it clear to him that the Muslim members be nominated from the panel of names given by the All India Muslim League, but the viceroy did not agree. Hence on July 9, 1945 the Quaid-i-Azam declined to send any names. The viceroy went his own way and prepared a list of names and insisted to have a Muslim from the Punjab on the panel other than the one suggested by the Muslim League. The Quaid-i-Azam suggested that :[42]

1. all the five members of the Executive Council must be taken from the Muslim League.
2. the Governor-General should use his special powers in protecting the rights of the Muslims and no decision should be upheld unless supported by the two-thirds majority.

The viceroy regretted that he could accept neither of the two demands and the Quaid-i-Azam ruled out the possibility of the participation of the Muslim League in any future re-organization of the Executive Council. Deliberations continued, but in the fifth and last session of the conference the viceroy announced the failure of the talks. The Quaid-i-Azam emphasised that no provisional arrangement which did not recognize the Muslim right of self-determination would be acceptable. It was a correct decision which had helped the Muslim League gain more power and popularity. The Muslim masses were now solidly supporting the Muslim League.[43]

Following the failure of the Simla Conference and the Wavell Plan the general elections were held in England and the Labour Party had emerged victorious. This pleased the congress. The Muslim League insisted on fresh elections in India. On September 16, 1945

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42. Hasan Riaz, *op cit.*, pp. 350-64.
43. *Ibid.*

Lord Wavell declared that election in India would be held in the coming winter to determine the future course of action. The Muslim League re-organized its Parliamentary Board which comprised Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (Chairman), Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and Syed Hussain Imam (member) and the Action Committee.[44]

The Muslim League started its mass contact campaign with care and enthusiasm. From among the religious scholars many notable persons including Allama Shabbir Ahmad Osmani and Mufti Muhammad Shafi decided to support the Muslim League movement in the forthcoming elections. Although Maulana Shabbir Ahmad did not possess good health, he came out to support the movement with vigour and conviction. The election for the Central Legislative Assembly were held in January 1946. The Muslim League won all the 30 seats and proved that it was the only organization which could claim to be representing the general Muslim opinion. On January 11, 1946 the Muslim League celebrated its success by observing the victory day. In the provincial elections also the Muslim League faired well and demonstrated to the world that the claim of the congress representing the Muslim opinion was not based on truth. The distribution of the Muslim League seats in the provincial legislature were as follows:[45]

Strength of the Muslim League in Provincial Assemblies in the Elections Held in 1946

Province	Total	Muslim Seats	Muslim League
N.W.F.P.	50	36	17
SIND	60	34	28
PUNJAB	175	86	79
U. P.	228	66	54
BIHAR & ORRISA	175	40	34
BENGAL	60	4	4
C. P.	250	119	113
BOMBAY	112	14	13
MADRAS	125	30	30
ASSAM	215	49	49

44. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-86.
45. *Ibid.*

The result of the election had thus brought great name to the Muslim League. The claim that it was the only organization which represented the majority Muslim opinion in India had been more confirmed ; while the lofty talks of the congress that it equally represented the Muslims as it represented the Hindus was belied.

Cabinet Mission : The elections were still being held when the British Government decided to send a cabinet mission to India to resolve the political deadlock. The mission comprising Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, chairman Board of Trade, and A. U. Alexander, first Lord of Admirality reached India on April 24, 1946. Lord Pethick Lawrence announced that the intention of the mission was to work out a workable political plan in consultation with different shades of Indian public opinion. There was nothing baked or half baked which they had brought with them.[46]

The mission started its deliberation by assessing the official estimate given by the viceroy and the provincial governors and then discussing the political situation with the Congress, the Muslim League and other political interests, in the country. The Mission conferred with Maulana Azad, in his capacity as the President of the Congress and with Mr. Gandhi as the most important Hindu leader and exchanged views. The Congress was not prepared to consider the partitioning of the British India into two independent sovereign states and Mr. Gandhi categorically refused to accept that Muslims were a separate nation. The Muslims thought they had a different culture, language and pattern of life which stood opposed to the Hindu concept of the universe and life.[47]

Following these talks, the mission discussed to evolve a possible political and constitutional solution for India. The Quaid-i-Azam explained to the mission that the difference existing between the Muslims and the Hindus were real. The Muslims had a different

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46. Hasan Riaz, *op cit.*, pp. 399-420.

47. *Ibid.*

culture and in their customs and traditions were distinctly separate from the Hindus. The Hindu society he said was the greatest separatist society in the world. Although both of them were living in the sub-continent for about one thousand years, they had their separate mohallas in villages and towns. There appeared to have been no basis for unity and integration. The mission then interviewed the representatives of the Sikhs, scheduled castes, Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Party. But this did not help and at times problems appeared to have been so complicated that a workable solution was not possible.

In the meantime the Muslim League convened at Delhi a convention of the members of the central and provincial legislatures who were elected on the Muslim League ticket. Prominent speakers participated in their effort to spell out the extent of dissimilarity and disunity among the Hindus and the Muslims. The Quaid-i-Azam made it clear that if the Muslim demand for self-determination was not accepted and any other solution was imposed upon them, they would resist it with all the force they possess. The plain talk which the Quaid-i-Azam had in his discourse made it abundantly clear that the Muslims would not rest contented if the demand for Pakistan was not met.[48]

The cabinet mission met the Quaid-i-Azam again and discussed with him the two possibilities It was proposed that in case the Muslim League would insist to retain the present boundaries of the Muslim majority provinces it would have to surrender some of its autonomy to the Central Government. The second proposal related to the full independence and division of the country. It was laid down that if that was the objective of the Muslim League the areas of the Muslim majority provinces where the Hindus constituted a majority would be separated. Along with these two possibilities the mission made yet another alternative proposal. It was proposed that there would be one Indian Union Government with three federation units. One unit would comprise Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal

48. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-420.

and Sylhet district in Assam, the second would comprise the Hindu majority area, while the third would include the Indian princely states provided the princes were ready for that. In such a solution the centre would retain defence, external affairs and communication while the units would have all the remaining powers. The mission also proposed checks and balances in running the day to day business of the state with its three independent federating units. But the scheme was so complicated and cumbursome that the Quaid-i-Azam doubted the efficacy of running the business of the state. He therefore, declined to consider the possibility of any such proposal.[49]

The Secretary of State for India then referred to the earlier proposal that the Hindu majority areas be separated from the existing Muslim majority provinces. The Quaid-i-Azam insisted that before discussing the question of concessions Pakistan should first be accepted in principle. The talks continued and the members of the mission were exchanging views with the leaders of all shades of political opinion. Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the cabinet mission proposed a confederation or a three tier confederation. But before making any definite commitment the Muslims wanted to know whether the congress was prepared to consider the plan. The congress showed some inclination to accept the three tier federation.[50]

These preliminary discussions led the mission invite the Muslim League and the Congress to discuss the political issue with the cabinet mission in a joint meeting to be held in Simla.[51]

Second Simla Conference : The Muslim League nominated the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, whereas the Congress nominated Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Jawahir Lal Nehru, Mr. Vallabh Bhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The conference was held at Simla on May 5, 1946 but even in its early deliberations it faced difficulty. The Muslim League and the

49. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-434.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*

Congress had divergent points of view. However, the Musim League submitted the following draft proposal : [52]

1. There shall be a combined unit of the Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam with and defence and external affairs with the central government.
2. This unit shall have its own Legislative Assembly.
3. There shall be proportional representation in the constituent assembly.
4. After the constitution is made each group shall determine through plebiscite whether it wants to stay in the union or wants to be separated.
5. The issue whether there shall be a joint constituent assembly of Hindustan and Pakistan.
6. Equal representation in the central legislsture, if any.
7. Controversial issues cannot be debated in the central legislature unless approved by the respective assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan.
8. The central government in any controversial issue cannot take any decision unless approved by a three-fourth majority of the voters.
9. The basic human rights, religion and culture shall be protected.
10. Any group will have the right to secede after ten years if it so desires.

The Congress proposed the following for a possible settlement.[53]

1. Constituent Assembly shall be elected through single transferable vote.
2. The constituent assembly will frame a constitution for the federating units and will have under its control external

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52. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-434. Philips, *Evolution. op. cit.*, pp. 334-35.
53. *Ibid.*,

affairs, defence, currency, customs, planning and other such departments.

3. The other powers will be delegated to the provinces.
4. The provincial groups can be constituted to take up such provincial subjects as would be agreed upon.
5. When the constituent assembly has framed the constitution for the federation only then can groups be formed.
6. Communal issue will be decided on the basis of the majority of the voters of the group concerned. In case of a deadlock it should be submitted to arbitration.
7. If any conflict arises during the framing of the constitution it shall be referred to the court.
8. Provision can be made that constitution would be revised after ten years.

It appeared from the study of these proposals that the congress was not to concede any of the Muslim demands. It persistently stood for a strong central government with more subjects than proposed by the cabinet mission. On May 12, 1946 a final discussion on the proposal was held and it was agreed that since no further compromise could be possibly worked out the conference should be adjourned. The mission continued to confer with different leaders and keeping in view the Muslim feeling of insecurity and danger in a united India where the Hindus would constitute more than an absolute majority, gave the following verdict on May 16, 1946:[54]

"THE CABINET MISSION"

1. There should be a union of India, embracing both British India and the states, which should deal with the following subjects ; Foreign affairs, defence, and communication ; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

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54. Philips, *Evolution, op. cit.*, pp. 378-382.

2. The union should have an executive and a legislature constituted from British Indian and states representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.
3. All subjects other than the union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces.
4. The states will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the union.
5. Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures, and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.
6. The constitution of the union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any province could by a majority vote of its legislative assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter.

The Council of the All India Muslim League debated on the proposal and on June 6, 1946 passed a lengthy resolution describing the demands and the shortcomings of the proposal, but since "the basis and foundation of Pakistan are inherent in the missions plan" the Muslim League was prepared to cooperate with the constituent assembly in the hope that it would ultimately help in the establishment of complete sovereign Pakistan. On May 24, 1946 the working committee of the congress passed a resolution in which it raised a number of objections regarding its demand of a strong centre and sought clarification of certain provisions in the proposal. The statement issued by the Hindu leaders specially Mr. Gandhi recalled their intention to have a Hindu dominance in the government and did not appear to make any reasonable compromises.[55]

Meanwhile the viceroy made a proposal regarding the formation

55. Philips. *Evolution*, p. 384. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-434.

of an interim government at the centre. The congress on the one hand showed its preparedness to participate in the promotion of the government and on the other made innumerable excuses, sought many clarifications and put up several demands. There was a great conflict regarding the number of positions and their distribution among the various communities of India, notably among the Hindus and the Muslims. Hectic discussions went on, but nothing tangible was achieved. On June 16, 1946 the viceroy proposed a 14 men executive council out of which the congress would have six (6) members, the Muslim League five (5), Sikhs one (1) and the Indian Christians or Parsees one (1). It was also indicated in the statement that the failure of any party to participate in the government would not hold up the government to implement the scheme. The congress played hide and seek. It raised certain objections against the scheme and denounced parity among the Hindus and Muslims in the executive council. It also objected against the provision that if the majority of the members of the community concerned opposed certain contorversial move the issue could not be decided by a majority vote. It, however, continued to stick to the principle of a majority vote in a representative government. The congress had thus virtually rejected the viceroy's plan of re-constituting the executive council.[56]

Having been informed about the unwillingness of the Congress to participate in the government, the viceroy should have logically entrusted the Muslim League and other parties the task of forming an interim government. But Lord Wavell postponed its formation, busied himself in the election of the constituent assembly and remained content with a care taker government until such time when congress showed its willingness to participate in the interim government. In the meantime Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru was made the president of the Congress and in his own confident mood he gave certain statements which did not contribute to finding any solution of the problem. In a press statement he commented adversly on the cabinet

56. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-46.

mission plan and insisted on a strong centre with more subjects than what had been included in the plan.[57]

These utterances were undiplomatic, but it appeared the congress was determined to demolish the grouping system in the constituent assembly by the force of the Hindu majority. But the Muslims were not prepared to let that happen. The interpretation of the cabinet mission plan as it suited the congress was untenable, and in spite of the clarification otherwise by the federal court the Congress insisted on its own interpretation. This stubberness led to further cleavages. The council of the All India Muslim League met at Bombay from 27 to 29, 1946 and discussed the situation after the political somersault of the congress. The council rejected the cabinet mission plan and resolved that hence forward the chief o jective of the Muslim League would be to focus on a sovereign and independent Pakistan and oppose any move of constitution making without the concurrence of the Muslim League. For this purpose the Muslim League decided to take direct action. Meanwhile the news came that the Muslim League had won 73 seats of the constituent assembly out of a total of 78 Muslim seats.[58]

At this stage the viceroy had once again declared his intention to have an interim government and approached the congress to form it. The congress refused to participate in any government that did not have sovereign control. But when the Muslim League decided to launch a direct action, Lord Wavell changed the very basis of the reorganization of the executive council. Instead of parity he reduced the Muslim representation to a minority. The Quaid-i-Azam naturally did not agree to the revised plan.[59]

The stalemate continued for some time, but then suddenly on August 8, 1946 the working committee of the congress agreed to participate in the formation of the Central Government, although no fundamental change in the Government stand was made. It seemed

57. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-46.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*

the government of India was lagerly waiting for that decision. On August 24, 1946 it had readily invited Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru to form the government. The Muslim League stayed out. The viceroy in his radio broadcast promised to make room for the Muslim League when it so decided. The Quaid-i-Azam on the other hand insisted to know why the June 16 plan was changed and made it clear that the only solution of the political problems of India was to accept the Muslim demand of Pakistan.[60]

Meanwhile the communal disturbances had been occurring in various parts of India. Calcutta faced a big Hindu-Muslim riot and arson, killing and destruction of property were a common sight. The Calcutta incident made a tremendous change in the thinking policy of the viceroy. He consulted both the Quaid-i-Azam and Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru, initiated a series of political discussions and succeded in persuading the Muslim League to join the interim government. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Mr. Jugendra Nath Mandal were accordingly nominated against the five positions assigned to the Muslim League. The congress resisted and did not agree to any equatable distribution of subjects. Only one important portfolio of finance was however assigned to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.[61]

Indiscriminate riots were taking place throughout the country. The communal riot in Noakhali (Bengal) took a serious turn. On October 25, 1946 "NOAKHALI DAY" was observed in Bihar and was followed by the killing of the Muslims in the provinces of Bihar, where they formed a minority of 2%. The riots continued and the Muslims were mercilessly slaughtered and their property looted and destroyed. According to one estimate about 50,000 Muslims lost their lives ; thousands were injured and 1,50,000 rendered homeless. The Bihar tragedy was repeated at Gahkmuktesar in the Meerut district. Here the Muslims were butchered under a planned scheme

60. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp 421-46.

61. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, p. 447-73.

and the property was destroyed. As a student relief worker from Aligarh I had myself witnessed the ghastly devastation which no human eye can witness without shedding tears and condemning the act of barbarism. These mishaps and many other issues created rift and conflict in the interim government. Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru acted as if he were the Prime Minister and crossed the limits of the interim mandate.[62]

There was a big difference of opinion regarding the convening of the constituent assembly. The Muslim League was opposed to it until the congress accepted the May 16 plan as interpreted by the cabinet mission itself. But the viceroy under the advice of Pandit Nehru convened the meeting of the assembly. The Muslim League refused to participate unless the position was made clear. The viceroy instead of taking a realistic view insisted that either the Muslim League should accept the cabinet mission plan or should withdraw from the Government. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan told the viceroy that the Muslim League was prepared to resign but it would not accept any long term plan unless the British Governmt categorically declared that the provinces would be grouped in sections.[63]

Opinions differed and the Congress and the Muslim League were drifting farther. At this stage the British Government made yet another effort to reach some rapprochement. The leaders of the Muslim League and the Congress were invited to London for discussion. The Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru, Sardar Baldev Singh and Lord Wavell reached London on Dec. 2, 1946. Consultation took place but no agreement could possibly be reached. The Congress was not prepared to accept the interpetation of the cabinet mission plan regarding items 19 (5) and 19 (8) of the cabinet mission plan. On December 22, 1946 the working committee of the congress rejected the December 6 cabinet mission interpretation. The working committee of the Muslim League met at Karachi and passed a detailed resolution outlying the delusion in

62. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-73.
63. *Ibid.*

the utterances and stands of the congress *vis-a-vis* the position of the Muslim League. In such circumstances it recommended the dissolution of the constituent assemly.[64]

The Congress took the resolution in bad taste and on February 5, 1947 the Congress and the representatives of the minorities pleaded that since the Muslim League refused to attend the constituent assembly and had also rejected the cabinet mission plan it should withdraw from the interim government. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan once again told the viceroy that the Muslim League would withdraw from the interim government provided the British Government ratified that the congress had accepted the cabinet mission plan and that the constituent assembly would work within the limits laid down by the authors of the plan. When no probable sound excuse was explored the issue of resignation was not further pursued.[65]

Although Great Britain won the war, its economy was almost shattered. It was now improbable that it could keep up sufficient armed forces to control India. On the other hand the Indian political movement had also changed the complexion of the Indian Army which could no longer be depended upon. The British Government, therefore, appeared to have been in a haste to transfer power to the Indian hands a quit the country. But the Muslim-Hindu conflict made the political situation difficult. No solution which could satisfy both the groups seemed possible. In a great haste the British Government, on February 20, 1947, announced its intention to hand over power as soon as the major road blocks were removed.[66]

As usual the viceroy continued his consultation with the congress and emphasized that the need to bring the Muslim League in the constituent assembly was imminent, but it did not evoke much interest in the congress circle. Instead it forbade the Hindu members of the constituent assembly to participate in the group constituent assembly and thus created a law and order situation in the Muslim

64. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-73. 65. *Ibid.*

66. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-505.

majority provinces. In the Punjab the Muslim League in spite of being the single majority party was not asked to form the Government. The Unionist coalition Government headed by Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana opposed the Pakistan movement and tried to block it once for ever. The Sikhs were getting extremely violent. One of their leaders, Master Tara Singh declared that the sword would make the final accord. Conditions thus got worsened and since the Government of the Punjab had a tight control over the civil liberties, the Muslim League demanded for a new election. But the Unionist Government did not like the idea and imposed further restrictions on the Muslim League and its workers. The Muslim League offices were searched and the Muslim National Guards were banned. When the police came to search the Lahore office, the Muslim League resisted. This resulted in the arrest of Nawab Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Begum Shah Nawaz and Malik Firoz Khan Noon.[67]

Following these arrests the Muslim League started its civil disobedience movement. The processions were teargased, and lathi-charged. Children and women were beaten. But it did not help the situation change. In utter haste the Government withdraw its order against the Muslim National Guards, but the movement was not called off. The defiance of section 144 at the Mochi Gate provided an excuse to the Government to arrest many leaders. But the agitation against the Government mounted up and paralyzed the administration. Finally the Government gave in and released the Muslim League leaders, but immediately after their release they declared in an open protest rally that their struggle against the usurpers would continue. It appeared the things were now nearing crystallization. On March 1, 1947 the Muslim League decided to try to topple the Government in the budget session, and if failed to succeed, it should struggle to get the assembly dissolved for fresh elections. But the pressure of the agitation made Khizar Hayat Khan resign his office on March 2, 1947 which stopped the Unionist manoeuvring inside the

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67. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-505.

government.[68]

The Governor Jenkins who was in league with the congress did not invite the Muslim League to form the Government. Instead he recommended for the promulgution of section 93 of the Government of India Act, 19 5. But the situation still remained out of control. The Hindus and Sikhs joined hands in their plan to harrass and kill Muslims for demanding Pakistan. On March 5, 1947 the Hindus and Sikhs took out a procession in Anarkali to condemn the demand of Pakistan. This procession was so provocative that it resulted in a big riot in Lahore, which later on spread over Amritsar, Gujranwala, Jullundur, Multan, Sialkot and Rawalpindi. In short the whole of the Punjab was thrown into chaos. Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru toured the Punjab from March, 14, 1947 to March 17, 1947 but no change in the situation could be brought about.[69]

The communal situation in other parts of the country was equally disqueiting. In the minority provinces the Hindus had been vigorously campaigning against the Muslims and their life and property were in danger. In the majority provinces the Hindus were provocative as in the Punjab and Bengal. But concurrently they had been playing an equally cruel game in the NWFP and Sind. The role of G.M Syed and his associates resulted in the dissolution of the Sind Assembly and bye-election of the provincial Assembly resolved the problem. Luckily the Muslim League once again gained control over the Government. In the NWFP conditions were equally bad. The arrest of Pir Manki Sharif brought the movement close to the tribal people. The Muslim League was gaining substantial support every where. On March 5, 1947 the working committee of the congress voted for the partitioning of the Punjab and Bengal into Hindu and Muslim Zones.[70]

The polarization in the gathering political storm was shrouding the same efforts of resolving the problem amicably when Mr. Liaquat

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68. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-505.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*

Ali Khan the finance minister in the Interm Government presented his budget which was termed as a poormans budget. While he proposed concessions to the poor he proposed heavy taxes on the industrialists. This good gesture to the poor on the part of the finance minister annoyed the congress because the Hindu industrialists who were hard hit by the budget proposals were the real financiers of the congress. The budget had, therefore, further widened the gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League.[71]

Things were now taking a quick but serious turn. In the days of such hectic politicking Lord Wavell was replaced by Lord Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India. The new Governor-General was sworn in on March 22, 1947. The new Viceroy had clear mandate to transfer power to the people of the sub-continent by June 1947. In his utter haste he started his negotiations with the leaders of different political parties and also met the representatives of the princely states. Nawab of Bhopal was opposed to the participation of the princes in the constituent assembly, but Maharaja Bikanir and other Hindu princes foveured the participation.[72]

Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru criticized the Quaid-i-Azam and said very unkindly words in the presence of Lord Mountbatten who was himself opposed to the Muslim League. It was therefore, not unnatural that he colleased with the congress and conspired with Pandit Nahru against the Muslim League. He met the Quaid-i-Azam successively, and proposals after proposals came up for discussion. On May 18,1947 Lord Mountbatten proceeded to London for consultation with the Government and came back with a plan approved by the British Government. On June 2,1947 he placed the following plan before the Indian political leaders.[73]

1. A separate constituent assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing constituent assembly shall be elected.

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71. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*. pp. 474-518.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Philips, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

2. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will meet in two parts one representing the Muslim majority districts and other the rest of the province. This will be determined on the basis of 1941 census.

3. They will be required to vote for one of the constituent assemblies.

4. The Legislative Assembly of Sind will also take its decision for one of the two constituent assemblies.

5. A referendum will be held in NWFP to choose for the participation in one of two constituent assemblies.

6. A referendom shall be held in the district of Sylhet in case of the division of the Bengal and the Punjab fresh elections will be held to chose their representatives of the constituent assembly.

On June 3, 1947 the plan was accepted as a result of this acceptance Pakistan was to come into being on August 1947. The Quaid-i-Azam, Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru and Sardar Beldev Singh were invited to give talks on the All India Radio. The Council of the All India Muslim League approved the plan on June 10, 1947. It was, however, opposed to partitioning of the Punjab and Bengal, but since there was no other alternative the council accepted the plan. The All India Congress Committee met on June 14, 1947 and after a lengthy sermon on Indian unity agree to the division of the country.[74]

The partition plan brought a score of difficulties. Two major provinces of Pakistan were to be divided into Hindu and Muslim zones, a plebiscite was to be held in the NWFP and Sylhet and new central administration was to be set up for the newly created country. The political riots specially engineered by the Hindus and Sikhs had made the situation still worse, but with faith, discipline and organization the Indian Muslims hoped to steer through. On June 20, 1947 the Bengal legislative assembly divided into two zones met separately.

74. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-518.

The East Zone voted for a new constituent assimbly whereas the West Zone voted to participate in the existing constituent assembly. Similarly the West Punjab voted for the new constituent assembly, while the East Zone went for the existing constituent assembly. Sind voted for joining the new assembly on June 26, 1947. The Shahi Jirga and the members of the Quetta municipality also decided to join the new assembly.[75]

The plebiscite in Sylhet was held in the beginning of July 1947 and was merged with East Bengal. Conditions in the NWFP were fairly complicated. Dr. Khan Sahib was leading a congress ministry, which was opposed to the creation of Pakistan. At this crucial stage Dr. Khan Sahib and his brother Abdul Ghaffar Khan raised yet another slogan. They said that if at all a plebiscite was to be held there should be a third alternative of Pathanistan or Pakhtoonistan. The working committee of the congress endorsed the new demand. But the Muslim League and also the viceroy opposed the move. He told the congress leaders in clear terms that NWFP would have to vote either for Pakistan or Hindustan. Accordingly when in July the plebiscite was held a huge majority of the people of the NWFP voted for Pakistan. These decisions proved that Islam was the strongest bond which united the Indian Muslims for establishing a common policy based on the Quran and Sunnah. The slogan of Pakhtoonistan tempted the Government of Afghanistan to make it a living issue and that still continues in one form or the other.[76]

Indian Independence Act : The British Parliament voted for the draft Indian Independence Act on July 15, 1947 which received the assent of the King of England on July 18, 1947. The Government of India Act, 1935 was amended to serve as an interim constitution under the title India Order, 1947. The congress invited Lord Mountbatten to be the next Governor General of India, and to this he consented. The Muslim League decided to have a separate Governor General and accordingly the Quaid-i-Azam was designated the Governor General

75. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-18.
76. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-23.

of the new dominion of Pakistan.[77]

Now the partition was to be put into effect, but it was not an easy job. There were many complications which required hard work and sincerity of purpose to resolve. In view of the Quaid-i-Azam it was the responsibility of the British Government to see that the transfer of power and partition was smooth and orderly. But Lord Mountbatten insisted that it was the responsibility of the Government of India. A Partition Committee which later became the Partition Council was appointed. Mr. Vallabh Bhai Patel, Babu Rajandra Prasad represented the Congress, whereas the Muslim League was represented by the Quaid-i-Azam and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. This council continued to function even after the establishment of Pakistan on August 14, 1947.

The partition council decided to divide the army on the basis of its numerical majority. The predominantly Muslim units were to go to Pakistan while the predominantly Hindu unis to India. The Air Force and the Navy was also to be divided according to the same principle. Field Marshal Auchinleck in consultation with the Joint Defence Council was assigned the job of executing the division of the armed forces, but the division was not evenly effected. In this division as in others Pakistan was the loser. What it inherited in the name of navy and air force was an apology of air and naval forces. Similarly in the division of office equipment and material Pakistan did not get its due share. The Hindu staff of the Government of India very cleverly gave almost nothing to Pakistan. In the division of assets Pakistan was to have a share of 17%, but in actual division Pakistan did not get anything that it could have utilized in building up a new capital at Karachi.[78]

Boundary Commission : In order to determine the boundaries of the two dominions two Boundary Commissions were set up. One of them was meant for Assam and Bengal and the other for the Punjab, Mr. A. S. Muhammad Akram, Mr. S.A. Rahman, Justice C. C. Biswas

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77. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 519-33.
78. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-51.

and B.K. Mukerji were the members of the Bengal Commission, whereas Justice Din Muhammad, Mr. Muhammad Munir, Mehr Chandra Mahajan and Tej Singh were the members of the Punjab Commission. Both the Muslim League and the Congress agreed to have Sir Cyril Redcliff as the chairman of the Commission.[79]

The members of the commission had acute differences of opinion regarding the setting up of the boundaries. It was then mutually agreed that in case of conflict the chairman should give his verdict. Here again the Muslim League was made to play a losers game. Redcliff gave his verdict in favour of India and against the interest of Pakistan. The Redcliff Award included in India some of the fertile and industrially developed Muslim majority areas, particularly the district of Gurdaspur in the Punjab and Murshidabad in East Bengal. Gurdaspur was particularly important because it provided for India clear vista to the Kashmir Valley which still looms on into all its barbarism and atrocity. The Quaid-i-Azam was grieved at the Redcliff Award, but honest to his words he accepted the decision.[80]

Mass Migration: Meanwhile the communal situation in the Punjab was deteriorating. When the Sikhs found that they were to get nothing from the West Punjab they started killing the Muslims and looting their property. In the East Punjab it was planned project to uproot the Muslims while in the West Punjab the intention was to create chaos for the new Government. The Sikhs and Hindu assisted by the police and other official coverage killed and plundered unarmed Muslims. Trains carrying the Muslim personel and refugees were derailed and sabotaged. Delhi turned into a slaughter house. Millions of people were driven out of home and mercilessly killed and millions escaped to find refuge in the Purana Qila and once a flourishing Muslim metropolis turned into a slaughtering base. From Delhi to the Punjab it was a frightful sight. Millions of Muslims were running for refuge and shelter. Caravans after caravans were leaving for Pakistan. It was not uncommon that these caravans were waylaid

79. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-51.
80. *Ibid.*

and indiscriminate killing was carried on. The intention was to wip off the Muslims from Delhi and its suberbs and overflow the new dominion with the Muslim refugees so that it might collapse. But God helped the new state and in spite of an influx of 65,00,000 refugees and the exodus of Hindu industrialists, businessmen and technicians it survived from the Hindu machination and the incoming muhajirs who settled down in their new home provided the necessary man-power needed by Pakistan.[81]

Kashmir : In accordance with the provision of the independence the princely states of India were either to accede to India or to Pakistan or stay independent, but inherently the intention was to allow them to accede to any of these dominions according to the geographical and cultural composition of the state. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was sold by the British to Gulab Singh Dogra for Rs. 75,00,00,000. The state was predominantly Muslim, but the Raja was a Hindu. This position was resented by the Muslim popular, which was rendered destitute and was always a victim to their oppression and tyranny. The Maharaja knew that the wishes of the people would be to accede to Pakistan. But he was averse to it. To avoid any formal commitment in August, 1947 he executed a stand still agreement with Pakistan. But since it was commonly known that the Maharaja was involved in the conspiracy of killing Muslims in the East Punjab and Delhi public opinion was turning against him. Jammu was a big centre of the militant Hindu organization of Rashtarya Sewak Sang. When the Sikhs and the Hindu took provocative steps against the Muslims and started killing them there was no alternative but to rise in rebellion against the Maharaja. Poonch and other areas raised the banner of revolt and declared the independence of Jammu and Kashmir.

When the uprooted caravans of Muslim refugees reached Pakistan their Muslim brothers in Pakistan get irritated and rushed to provide all possible help. The Muslims gained upperhand and the Maharaja was losing ground. He suddenly decided to accede to Inida and

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81. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-51.

asked for its military assistance to face the rebillion. India readily agreed with the provision that the final accession deed would be signed when the people of the state had expressed their willingness. Accordingly India sent its forces to occupy Kashmir. Since then a major part of the state is occupied by India. The United Nations mission and the bilateral talk have so far failed to evince any good result. The people of Pakistan along with their brothren in the occupied territory of Jammu and Kashmir are longing for its liberation, but the opportune moment is still being awaited.[82]

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82. Hasan Riaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-51.

PART III

LAND AND PEOPLE

Background : Look at the map of Asia and see the shaded mass of land extending from the snow capped Himalaya heights in the north to the tumultuous waters of Arabian sea in the south. This is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan ; a new country, indeed, but with a rich cultural heritage. It occupies a strategic region that borders China, connects oil rich Middle East and serves as a gateway to the south-Asia through east land and sea. This has made Pakistan a region of political and economic importance.

Until the Indian aggression of 1971 which caused the dismemberment of the country and the cessation of East Pakistan to an independent state of Bengla Desh, Pakistan was the second largest Muslim state in the world. The defection of East Pakistan was a big blow to our solidarity as a sovereign nation. But this loss has been sustained with courage and manliness. The active forces of revivalism have now restored the prestige that was lost. Pakistan still occupies a territory of 3,10,403 sq. miles which is larger than the total area of France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and the United Kingdom put together. According to the census of 1972 the total population of Pakistan is 6,48,92,000, which provides a big manpower support for the development of the country. Although the loss of East Pakistan will always be regretted, it is encouraging to see that the country has once again been put on the path of progress and prosperity. The job to repair and refasten the broken links was difficult, but no obstacle

could be big enough to defeat the sincere efforts of maintaining the national solidarity.

Boundaries : The immediate neighbous of Pakistan in the north accross the Himalayan mountains are the Peoples' Republic of China and the Central Asian Turkish Republics of the USSR, separated by the narrow strip of Wakhan in Afghanistan. Iran and Afghanistan make the eastern frontier of the country, while Bharat (Hindustan) has a long border in the east. The Arabian sea in the south has no human habitation, but it has always served as a vista of human contacts beyond the oceanic waters.

Physical Features[1] : The relief map of Pakistan will show that the land varies in surface and climate. There are mountains as high as the Godwin Austin (28,250 ft.) and the Nanga Parbat (26,660 ft.) and as low as the western range from Safed Koh (12,000 ft.) to Kirthar (7,000 ft.), while there are plateaus and river-made plains spread over a large area. The country can be divided into the following three main physical regions :

(1) The Mountains.

(2) The Plateaus.

(3) The Plains.

(1) **The Mountains** : The mountains of Pakistan have two major divisions. (*a*) The Northern Mountains and (*b*) the Western Mountains.

(*a*) **The Northern Mountains :** The Northern mountains are the western extension of the Himalayan range. They have the snow-covered peaks and the beautiful valley with picturesqure forests and rivulets and ravines that make the mighty rivers of the plains. They are divided into the following four ranges :

(*i*) *Sub-Himalayas* : These are a range of low hills about 3,000 ft. high. They are called Siwaliks.

1. Qazi Saeedul Din.

(*ii*) *The Outer Himalayas* : Further north and parallel to the Siwalik range lies the outer Himalayas which include Pir Panjal with an average height of 14,000 ft.

(*iii*) *The Kara Korum Range* : It covers the northern Kashmir and Gilgit. Its highest peak Godwin Austin (K-2) is 28,250 ft. The Hindu Kush lies in the north west and its highest peak Tirich Mir is 25, 363 ft.

These mountains check the cold Siberian winds and cause rains by intercepting the monsoons from the south.

When there snow melts in the summer the rivers get sufficient water to carry it to the plains. They are usually dry in the north but on the slopes of the southern ranges there are useful timber forests.

Passes : The following are the important passes :

(1) Babusar Pass (14,131 ft.) connects Abbotabad and Gilgit.

(2) Lawarai Pass (10,230 ft.) connects Peshawar and Chitral.

(3) Shandur Pass (12,205 ft.) connects Chitral and Gilgit.

(4) Muztagh Pass (19,030 ft,) connects Gilgit and Yarkand.

(*b*) **The Western Mountains** : These mountains include the Safed Koh with an average height of 12,000 ft. The Suleman mountains with its 11,100 high peak, Takht-i-Suleman and the Kirthar hills with an average height of 7,000 ft.

These mountains are compatatively dry and have a very low average of rainfall. They have only a few timber forests, while their green valleys look like an oasis.

The following are the important passes :

(1) Khyber Pass : connects Peshawar with Kabul.

(2) Kurram Pass : connects Parachinar and Kohat with Afghanistan.

(3) Tochi Pass : connects Bannu with Ghaznia.

(4) Gomel Pass : connects Dera Ismail Khan with Afghanistan.

(5) Bolan Pass : connects Quetta with Habib Kot.

Rivers : Tochi, Gomel and Bolan are the principal rivers in the region, which fall into the river Indus and provide water and relief for the people. The river Hab and the river Lyari raise in the Kirthar and flow-down to the Arabian sea.

(2) The Plateaus : Pakistan has two ranges of plateaus.

(A) The Plateau of the Salt Range and the Pothwar.

(B) The Plateau of Baluchistan.

(A) *The Salt Range and the Pothwar* : The Salt Range starts with the Barkala and Tarakki ridges near Jehlum city, crosses the river Indus near Kalabagh and runs into Dera Ismail Khan division. The Salt range has an average height of 2,200 ft. but at Sakesar this rises to 5000 ft.

The Pothwar lies between the Salt Range and the Siwaliks and covers a big block of eroded land. There are ridges, hillocks, basin plains, ditches, small rivers, canals like drains and small lakes. Although it does not have many green forests and valleys, it does have many useful mineral deposits. The rock salt, gypsum, coal and lime stone are found in large quantities. Oil has been struck at several places and is being piped to the oil refinery at Rawalpindi from Khor, Dhulian and Balkasar.

The cultivation of agricultural crops in the salt range and the Pothwar largely depends on rainfall. In case of no rainfall there is no cultivation. Generally wheat, maize and pulses are grown.

(*B*) *The Baluchistan Plateau* : The large plateau of Baluchistan which has an average height of 1000 ft. above sea level, lies to the west of the Suleman and Kirthar ranges. It has dry valleys, salt lakes, vast deserts and barren hills. The Toba Kakar and Chaghai ranges form the border with Afghanistan. The Brahui and Makran ranges occupy the central plateau and the Makran coastal range runs almost east and west, parrallel to the coast forming a narrow coastal plain.

Baluchistan is rich in mineral resources which are yet to be explored and exploited. The natural gas at Sui is being used for

domestic and industrial purposes all over the country. The plateau contains valuable deposits of coal, iron, chromite, marble and other minerable.

(3) **Plain** : The Indus plain stretches from the Himalayan mountains and the Salt Range in the north to the Arabian sea in the south. The plain can be divided into :

(A) The Upper Indus Plain.

(B) The Lower Indus Plain.

(A) *The Upper Indus Plain* : It covers most of the Punjab and the whole of Bahawalpur and includes the plains of Bannu and Peshawar on the west bank of the river Indus, generally fed by the rivers Kabul, Kurram and Tochi. The five chief tributaries of the river Indus, viz., the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi, the Chenab, and the Jhelum flow on the main upper plain. The relief map shows how these rivers join each other and form into one mighty river at Punjnad (five rivers) south of Uch before falling into the river Indus near Mithankot.

The upper Indus plain is fertile and good for agriculture. It has a net-work of canals and produces food, fruit and fodder for the livestock. Cholistan in Bahawalpur and the Thal in the Sindsagar Doab are deserts. The Thal is now being reclaimed by a new irrigation system, while it will take some time to convert the Cholistan desert into cultivable land.

(B) *The Lower Indus Plain* : To the south of Mithankot extending to the province of Sind the river Indus forms a single gigantic mass of water. It generally flows very slowly and deposits its silt on its bed. This raises the bed above the level of the sandy plain and during the flood season when it flows over its banks it creates havoc all around. In order to protect the land and people strong bunds have been constructed on either side of the river.

The lower Indus plain is a little different from the upper Indus plain, whereas the upper Indus plain has been formed by the five tributaries of the river Indus, it has been formed by the changing

course of the river Indus itself. The north-central plain in Sind has a good and productive soil. Now that several barrages have been constructed to drain the water into canals for irrigating the land, it has been converted into green farmland. In the east it forms a part of the Thal desert and in the south east extends to Kachhi plain which is waste and arid.

(C) *People and Occupation*: The nature of land, climate and conditions of living determine the habits, social and economic patterns and occupa tions of the people. In the mountains and the plateaus people are generally simple, tough, sturdy and vigorous and have to work hard for their survival. In the absence of modern industries and limited resources they are generally engaged in cattle-rearing, wood-cutting, load-lifting, weaving and agriculture wherever it is possible.

The life on the plains is comparatively different and to some extent easy. The settled pastoral life and the fast growing industrial estates in the small and big urban settlements have made life more complex and demanding. This provides a good environment for the people to engage themselves not only in the centuries old agricultural pursuits but to pick up new trades and occupations in industry and commerce. It is, therefore, natural that the people from the less economically beneficial areas migrate to the more profitable centres. This is why people are now settling down in the towns of their employment or where they find better chances of economic improvement.

CLIMATE

Weather and Climate : Weather means the atmosphere conditions at any place for a short period of time, which may be a day or a week or a month or so. It is measured in terms of temperature pressure of winds, humidity and rainfall. These elements of weather do not remain constant. They vary from time to time. If we study the weather of a place during the course of a year it is possible to make an assessment of the general conditions of its weather. The average weather so obtained is called climate.

Pakistan lies in the warm temperate zone, but most of its lands is

located at a great distance from the sea and has high mountain range in the north and the west. The climate is arid and extreme with as very low rainfall. The summers are hot and the winters are cold. While Jacobabad and Sibi are the hottest regions, the nothern mountains and some of the places in Baluchistan may well go below freezing point. Pakistan has thus virtually two seasons with small periods of spring between summer and winter.

1. Sumemr from April to September, and
2. Winter from October to March.

The low rainfall has its effect on vegetation and agriculture. The rainfall chart and the map will show the average rainfall. The winter rainfall is caused by the western disturbances. While in the summer it is brought by the monsoons. The northern mountains, north western region and the western part of the plain get a good rainfall, but the rest of the country remains less favoured. Humidity is generally low except in the coastal regions like Karachi. The general climatic conditions are best suited for the cultivation of wheat, cotton, sugar-cane, oil-seeds, rice and similar other crops.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Minerals : The availability of raw material provides power for the industrial development. Pakistan is rich in mineral resources which need to be exploited for consumption in the industry. The Geological Survey of Pakistan, the Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC), the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporiaton (PIDC) and the provincial directorates of mineral development are the various agencies working for the rapid development of mineral resources. The Government of Pakistan has now planned to spend Rs. 83 crore on the development of the mineral wealth.

At present Pakistan has as many as 17 items of minerals. The following chart shows the annual production index. of the principal minerals.

Production of the Principal Minerals[2]

ITEM	UNIT	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
Chromite	(000 tons)	18	13	7
Coal	—do—	1174	1039	798
Gypsum	—do –	129	214	118
Lime Stone	—do—	2792	3941	1918
Rock Salt	—do—	348	369	279
Silica Sand	—do—	27	43	32
	barrels		2.35	1.55
Crude Oil	—do—	2.80		
Natural Gas	(00 mil. c/ft)	145	169	136

Oil and Gas : Oil and Gas are two important sources of fuel and energy, but Pakistan has so far been able to unearth only a limited quantity. The following six oil fields in Pakistan provide approximately 2.18 crore barrels of crude oil :

1. The Khaur
2. The Balkasar
3. The Dhulian
4. The Chakwal
5. The Joya Mir
6. The Karsal

of these the Balkasar and Dhulian oil fields produce more than 90% of the crude oil which is piped to the Attock Oil Company Refinery at Rawalpindi.

A number of renowned foreign oil companies together with the Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC) have been assigned the task of prospecting oil and gas in various areas of Pakistan. The Government is spending huge sums of money on these projects. If

2. Pakistan Year Book, Karachi, 1975—76.

these efforts bear fruit and oil or gas is struck, it will help Pakistan to resolve the fuel and energy crisis.

At present there are three oil refineries working in Pakistan. The Attock Oil Company Refinery is located at Rawalpindi, while the Pakistan Refinery Limited and the National Refinery Limited are situated in Karachi. The fourth refinery will be established at Multan.

There are ten gas fields in Pakistan located at Zin, Uch, Khairpur, Mazarani, Mari, Sui, Dhalian and Taunsa. But the one at Sui is the largest, and is being exploited for domestic and industrial purposes. Pipe lines from Sui to Karachi and various other parts of the country have been laid down to carry gas. It is estimated that these reserves would last several hundred years.

Coal: Coal also provides energy. The principal coal mines are located at Dandot, Pidh, Makarwal, Khost, Nakus, Zardalu, Sor, Singidi-Les, Mach, Bolan, Jhimpir, Cherat Hills, Surgarh range, Kotli and many other places. It is estimated that they have total reserve of 44.2 crore tons. These reserves are being mined and developed by the Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation and by various lease holders.

Salt: The largest salt reserves are at Khewra (Jhelum), Warcha (Sargodha) and Kalabagh (Mianwali). Of these some 3,53,000 tons of rock salt is taken out every year and is most commonly used. The salt is either obtained from the salt rocks or by drying out the sea-water.

Iron: Pakistan has not so far been lucky to strike iron ore deposits of good quality which may meet the requirement of the country. At present it is estimated that there are about 4 crore tons of low grade iron ore deposits at Kalabagh, Chitral, Chaghai and Kharan. The quality of iron ore found in Chitral and Chaghai are said to be of high grade, but these reserves are small. Recently the Pakistan Steel Corporation has entered into an agreement with the Government of the USSR to set up a big steel mill at Karachi to meet the increasing requirements of the country. The work on this project is in progress. Whenever you visit Karachi, make it a point to see the giant steel mill being built near Port Qasim.

Chromite : In Pakistan this ore is found in Muslim Bagh, Chaghai, Kharan and Waziristan. Some 1,67,000 tons of high grade chromite is produced every year, much of which is exported.

Gypsum : Gypsum is found in a fairly large quantity at Khewra, Dandot, Daudkhel, Kohat, Jhelum, Rohri and Loralai. The annual production is estimated to be 83,000 tons.

Lime Stone : Lime stone is found in the Northern and Western mountains in large quantities. It has a half yearly production of about 18,79,600 tons.

Marble : Marble of good quality has been found in Mardan, Swat, Chaghai and other places. This stone has a variety of colours and shades besides being black and white.

Other Minerals : Antimony is found in sufficiently large quantity asbestos at Muslimbagh, lead in Hazara, Chitral, Lasbela and Chaghai and phosphate in Hazara.

HYDRO ELECTRIC POWER[3]

Hydro-Electric Power : Pakistan is not self sufficient in coal, oil and gas deposits which are cheif sources of the hydro-electric power and the solar energy. The WAPDA has so far undertaken many projects of the hydro-electric power. Some of these projects have been completed ; while some of them are in the process of being completed.

(1) *The Malakand Dargai* : The power at the Malakand-Dargai Hydro-electric project is generated from the fall of the Upper Swat canal at Jabban. A total of 40,000 kw. of electricity is produced and is linked with the Pakistan grid.

(2) *Rasul Hydro-electric Project* : The 85 ft. high fall from the Upper Jhelum canal on the bed of the lower Jhelum canal at Rasul (Gujrat) has been used for generating 22,000 kw. of hydro electric power. This is linked with the Pakistan grid.

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3. Year Book, *op. cit.*, 1973—75.

(3) *The Warsak Hydro-electric Project*: The Warsak multipurpose project on the river Kabul has a capacity of producing 2,40,000 kw. of electricity and is linked with the Pakistan grid.

(4) *The Mangla Hydro-electric Project* : The Mangla Hydro-electric project produces 10,000,000 kw. of electricity and when on full production it may be raised to 30,00,000 kw. The power is linked with the Pakistan grid.

(5) *Canal Hydro-electric Project* : The power is generated with the help of the canal falls at Mangla, Shadiwal, Nandipur, Jaranwala, Sheikhupura, Khanki, Paras and Tarbela. These are comparatively small projects, which supply 8,13,500 kw. of electricity and are linked with the Pakistan grid.

(6) *Gomal Project* : The Gomal multipurpose project will produce 135 mw. of electricity.

(7) *Quetta Thermal Power Station* : The installed capacity of the Quetta Thermal Power Station is 33,250 kw. But this supply would be short of the demand of electricity in Baluchistan. The Government has, therefore, installed a 25,000 kw. gas turbine at the Quetta Thermal Power Station. The project was put into operation in 1975.

(8) *Lyallpur Gas Turbine Power Station* : A 2,00,000 kw. Gas Turbine Power Station which would supply power to the Northern Grid area is under construction at Lyallpur. This station will have eight turbo-sets of 15 mw. each to provide additional power.

There are many other projects which are well under way to provide electric power. Of these Tarbela, which will generate 21,00,000 kw. of electricity, is the biggest.

KARACHI NUCLEAR POWER STATION

The first nuclear power (KANUP) project in Pakistan is located at Paradise Point, Karachi with an installed capacity of 132 mw. It now supplies power to the Karachi Electric Supply Corporation.

A similar power station is being set up at Chashma.

Capacity By Source Generation

Power	1970	Target (1975)
Hydel	667.8	1417.8
Nuclear	125	125

On-going Projects : The new power generation schemes expected to be commissioned upto 1975 includes Mangla Units, 5, 6, 7 and 8 (400 mw.), Guddu Units, 1, 2 and 3 (420 mw.) Tarbela Units, 1 and 2 (350 mw.) and Quetta Units, 3 and 4 (15 mw.).

Transmission : The power generated at various places are linked with the Pakistan grid to supply power in bulk to many load centres for industrial and domestic use. There are four grid systems in Pakistan. These are the Northern Grid, Upper Sind Grid, Lower Sind Grid and Quetta Grid. At present the location of the generation facilities in each grid is as follows :

Pakistan Grid System

Grid	Hydel kw	Thermal kw	Total kw
Northern	8,67,000	4,95,000	13,62,000
Upper Sind	—	2,70,000	2,70,000
Lower Sind	—	30,000	30,000
Quetta	—	30,000	30,000
Pakistan	8,67,000	8,25,000	16,92,000

Electrification of Villages : The power is also supplied to the villages for public and private use. The WAPDA has so for electrified more than 2,800 villages in different parts of the country.

Village Electrification

Province	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75 (July-Dec.)
Punjab	70	307	51
Sind	114	119	92
NWFP	81	144	53
Baluchistan	3	10	—
Pakistan	268	580	196

IRRIGATION[4]

Pakistan has good fertile soil which has a high content of calcium carbonate and low content of organic matter. They have been brought under cultivation with the help of a well organised system of irrigation. In the absence of canals most of its rich agricultural land was dry and barren. But when the water of the rivers was diverted through canals into the fields, it has been easily converted into green farmland, fruit gardens and pastures.

It has already been explained that annual rainfall in Pakistan both in the summer and winter is generally low and the climate is dry and extreme. This required scientific handling of utilising the water in the rivers. Although the concept of digging canals for irrigation was not new, it was not so extensively applied in the past as it has been applied during the last few decades. When canals started flowing water for the first time in the Punjab and Sind most of the wasteland was brought under plough. This is now an ongoing process and the Government of Pakistan is vigorously engaged in improving the system of irrigation.

Means of Irrigation : Pakistan has three principal means of irrigation (*i*) irrigation by wells (*ii*) irrigation by ponds and lakes and (*iii*) irrigation by canals.

Wells : Irrigation by wells is an old method and has been used in this country for thousands of years. But the system has its own limitation. It can irrigate only a small field with hard labour and time. Wells are common in the sub-mountain area and all over the plain where canal water is not available and the water table is fairly high. Although wells are still very commonly used, the electric run tube wells are now replacing them.

Ponds and Lakes : Ponds and lakes are not a very common method of irrigation, but they are being used wherever they are available. The water collected in ponds and lakes is lifted during the dry season and drained to the fields.

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4. Year Book, op .cit., 1973—75.

Canals : Canals are our principal means and the largest system of irrigation. In the beginning they were few in number and mostly concentrated in the Punjab and Upper Sind. But now they are spread over the country with modern facilities to make water available at cheap rates. New dams and barrages are being built to help these areas which have no other means of irrigation. There are four types of canals :

(1) *Perennial Canals* : The canals which are open throughout the year and keep a constant supply of water are called the Perennial canals.

(2) *Non-Perennial Canals* : The canals which are closed during the winter when there is not enough water in the rivers are called the non-perennial canals. They normally function during the summer and rainy season.

(3) *Inundation Canals* : The canals which are used to drain out the water in excess during the rainy season are called inundation canals. Generally the natural drains connecting the rivers are modified and utilized for this purpose.

(4) *Karez* : In Baluchistan some small covered canals are dug to avoid evaporation due to excessive heat. They are called Karez which carry water to the fields and to the villages for human consumption.

BARRAGES AND DAMS[5]

Many barrages and dams have been built since the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. A short account of some of the important barrages and dams is given below :

BARRAGES

(1) Jinnah Barrage :

It has been built on the river Indus near Kalabagh. The canals which take water from the barrage, irrigate about 15 lakh acres of the Thal wasteland which is now being reclaimed.

(2) Taunsa Barrage :

This barrage stands on the river Indus near Taunsa at a distance of 180 miles down stream from the Jinnah Barrage. The two canals which flow in the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan and Muzaffargarh

5. Year Book, op. cit.. 1973—75.

irrigate about 14 lakh acres of land ; whereas the construction of the Taunsa Barrage provided the much needed rail link between Kashmor and Kot Addu as a parallel route to the main railway lines from Karachi to the north.

(4) The Guddu Barrage :

It has been constructed on the river Indus at Guddu, 90 miles upstream from Sukkur and 10 miles from Kashmor. The canals that branch out from here irrigate about 31 lakh acres of land in Sukkur, Jacobabad and Shikarpur areas. It is expected that another 2,50,000 acres of land in Baluchistan will receive water through lift irrigation from the Pat feeder.

(5) The Sukkur Barrage :

This one mile long barrage has been constructed near Sukkur and provided water for the seven canals, four flowing on its right bank and the three on its left bank. They irrigate 50 lakh acres of land.

(6) Ghulam Muhammad Barrage (Kotri Barrage) :

This barrage has been constructed near Hyderabad and has a total length of 3,000 feet. It provides water for 28 lakh acres of land which is now growing wheat, rice and cotton. The Kalri canal on the right bank of the river supplies additional water to the city of Karachi. The Kalri-Bhagar feeder canal supplies water to the Kinzhar lakes.

MULTIPURPOSE PROJECTS—DAMS[6]

(1) The Warsak Dam :

A multipurpose dam on the river Kabul at Warsak about 20 miles from Peshawar has been built, and from it the water stored in the 735. ft. long and 235 ft. wide reservoir flow, two high level canals that irrigate an area of 1,20,000 acres of land on both sides of the river. The principal crops grown here are sugar can and fruits. The dam produces 1,60,000 kl. of electricity, but when in full production will provide 2,40,000 kl. of electricity.

(2) The Rawal Dam :

The Rawal dam has been built on the Korung river. It is 80 ft. high and 820 ft. long which has formed into a three square mile lake

6. Year Book, op. cit., 1973—75.

that supplies water to Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The site is being developed as picnic spot for the residents of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

(3) The Indus Basin Treaty:

In 1947 some of the canals flowing in the Punjab had their headworks in Bharat (Hindustan). The poor supply of water to these canals created a long drawn dispute which was resolved with the help of the World Bank. An Indus Basin Treaty was signed between Pakistan and India. According to the terms of the treaty the water of the three eastern rivers (Sutlej, Beas and Ravi) would be used by India ; while Pakistan would have its control over the three western rivers (Chenab, Jhelum and Indus). Accordingly it has been agreed that Pakistan would have two storage dams, seven link canals and five barrages, while the existing links would be remodelled :

(*i*) *The Mangla Dam* :

Under this project the Mangla dam has been constructed on the river Jhelum at Mangla, about 20 miles upstream of the Jhelum town. The dam has a maximum height of 380 ft. and the water reservoir is 40 miles long. It is a multipurpose project which supplies additional water for irrigation and has the capacity to produce 3,00,000 kl. of electricity. The Mangla dam has become a beautiful tourist spot with house boats and motor launches in the lake.

(*ii*) *The Terbela Dam* :

The Tarbela dam is built on the river Indus near Tarbela, 30 miles upstream from Attock. The water reservoir has been designed to be 400 ft. high and 25 miles long. This is one of the largest earth-fill dams, and has been designed to supply water for the development of 40 lakh acres of land and produce 21,00,000 kl. of electricity ; and when complete in all respects the project will greatly contribute to the prosperity of the region.

(*iii*) *Link Canals* :

The independent canals being fed by the three eastern rivers were to be provided water from the western rivers. This required the building of new canals to link the existing canals. Accordingly seven new canals were built so that a regular supply of water may be made.

(4) Other Projects :

There are many other small projects of building small dams and canals in various areas of the country such as the Malakand, Dargai, Kuorram Garhi, Khanpur, Mangi, Soan, Charah, Darwat, Hab, Gemalzam. Some of these projects have been completed. Of these the Darwat and Hab dams will greatly benefit Karachi. They will provide water for irrigating about 1,34,00) acres of land around Karachi for growing essential commodities for the town.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the chief occupation which the people of Pakistan have been cultivating since the early human settlement in this region. Nearly 80% of the people earn their livelihood by tilling the soil and working hard on their fields. It is estimated that the total cultivated area in Pakistan is about 4 crore acres. Under the new scheme of irrigation it is planned to bring some additional land under cultivation.

The economy of Pakistan basically depends on agriculture and agricultural products that are exported to earn foreign exchange. But there are certain handicaps to our way of farming and marketing. These may be enumerated as under :

(1) The methods of farming are primitive in nature and the farmers do not possess adequate knowledge of scientific methods of farming.

(2) Natural or artificial fertilizer is not properly used.

(3) Quality seeds are not commonly used.

(4) Irrigation facilities are available only for about 50% of the cultivated land.

(5) Scientific breeding and maintenance of livestock is almost unknown.

(6) Land holdings are small and the farmers have limited resources and seldom are they in a position to purchase modern agricultural implements.

(7) Natural calamaties such as failure of rains, pests and diseases, locust, waterlogging and salinity, soil erosion also held the progress back.

Efforts to improve agriculture

There are two problems which have been gravely affecting the economy of Pakistan since independence. The land under cultivation is limited and the number of mouths to feed is rapidly increasing. This disturbs the balance between production and consumption. The Government of Pakistan has always remained sensitive to these problems and has in due course of time taken several steps to improve the methods of farming and to bring more land under cultivation.

Agriculture Reforms : Efforts are being made to introduce revolutionary changes in the system of farming and tenant-owner relationship. The Land Reforms of 1959 put a maximum limit on the individual land holding, consolidated uneconomic units of farmland and established the security of tenure. The Land Reforms of 1972 made a revolutionary attempt to wipe off feudalism. The new reforms include the further reducing of the maximum land holding to 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of unirrigated land, taking over and distributing among the peasants excess land, Shikargah, Pat-feeder land ; making the landowners responsible for payment of water rate, agricultural taxes, cost of seed and declaring the levy of the cess or "begar" unlawful.

Mechanization of Agriculture : Although the pace of mechanizing agriculture is slow, it is encouraging to see that the farmers are gradually taking to the new methods. The Government provides adequate information about the scientific methods of farming, proper care of livestock and encourages cooperative farming, use of tractors, artificial fertilizers and quality seed to increase production. Factories have been established to manufacture and assemble agricultural implements and to produce fertilizers in adequate quantity.

The Agricultural Development Bank : It grants loan and helps the farmers in their effort to improve their farmland. The agencies like UNDP, World Bank, WFP and FAO are helping Pakistanin many ways to tide over its food difficulties.

Plant Protection : The Plant Protection Department of the

Government of Pakistan, which helps save the crop from pests and diseases, has arrangement for aerial spray. In 1971-72 the aerial spray covered an area of 62 lakh acres. The department also provides preventive measures for seed treatment. At present all these arrangements are not adequate, but it is hoped that in future the department will not fall short of the demand.

Seeds and Fertilizers : The Government provides seeds of high yield. Mexi-Pak wheat and Irri rice are now the most popular varieties. The farmers are now using the artificial fertilizers. The increase in yield has made them change their attitude and they are now almost dependent on the chemical fertilizers. In 1972-73 the internal production was 3,71,900 nutrient tons, but the consumption reached 4,68,000 nutrient tons. The balance was imported by the Government.

Rural Development Scheme : The Government is taking keen interest in the development and reconstruction of the rural areas. In 1972-73 the People Works Programme, the Integrated Rural Development Programme and the Agroville Programme have been instituted to increase employment in villages, to modernise agriculture and to improve living conditions. For this the Government has allocated a sum of Rs. 22.03 crore.

Agricultural Products : The difference in climate helps grow a variety of crops in different parts of the country. Generally there are two main crops, the Kharif and the Rabi. The Kharif crops include rice, maize, millets pulses, cotton and sugar cane. In the Rabi wheat, barley, gram and oil seeds are grown. The other important crops which are cultivated are tobacco and a variety of vegetables and fruits. Pakistan has been favoured by nature with a variety of high quality, of fruits lime mango, banana, oranges, lemons, peaches, plums, apples, almonds, apricot, grapes, cherries, melons, etc. The excess of fruits and fruit products are exported. In our food requirements we have not yet reached the stage of self sufficiency, but with the concentration on employing the scientific methods in agriculture, it may be possible, that these difficulties may be surmounted in the shortest possible time.

Salinity and Waterlogging: The most serious problem to the fertile land irrigated by canals is the menace of waterlogging and salinity. It is estimated that nearly one lakh acres of irrigated land is rendered uncultivable every year. Large tracts of well cultivated green land giving a high yield have been for sometime lying waste. The Government has acted promptly to arrest this menace and has assigned the task of reclaiming the land to the WAPDA which has launched a vigorous programme of fighting the waterlogging and salinity under the supervision of the Salinity Control and Reclamation Project (SCARP).

At present there are several projects which have been completed or they are in the process of being completed. The following are the principal projects:

(1) The Chaj Doab Scheme.
(2) The Lower Thal Scheme.
(3) The Rachna Doab Scheme.
(4) The Khairpur Scheme.
(5) The Larkana Scheme.
(6) The Rohri North Scheme.
(7) The Bara Pani Canal Scheme.
(8) The Peshawar-D. I. Khan Scheme.

It has been planned to sink tube wells to lower down the water table. The water will be drained out to different drains specifically constructed for this purpose. The SCARP plans to sink some 50,000 tube wells and construct 3.2 lakh miles of drains. During the Fourth Five Years Plan, 1971-75 an amount of Rs. 1,28,07,000,00 has been allocated for this purpose.

INDUSTRY[7]

In 1947 when Pakistan appeared on the map of the world it inherited only a few small industrial units. It was almost from nothing that Pakistan started building up its industrial power. Today a glance at the industrial development index will show that the progress has been rapid. But we have to make our speed still fast and work hard to catch up with the highly developed nations of the world.

The Government of Pakistan has set up many organizations and institutions to promote and implement the state policy and encourage investment in setting up new industrial units. These include the Industrial Development Bank (IDB), the Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (PICIC), the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), the Pakistan Small Industries Corporation (PSIC), the Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR), the Central Testing Laboratories (CTL), the Pakistan Standard Institution (PSI), the Pakistan Patent Office (PO), and the Pakistan Industrial Technical Assistance Centre (PITAC). These organizations helped in creating the proper environment for the capital investment and installation of new industry. But as the time went on these investors, and industrialists developed into cartels and monopolies, and concentrated the wealth in their own hands. The Government of Pakistan has now taken some revolutionary steps to break these cartels. It has nationalized the basic capital industries and the banks. The tendency to concentrate the industry in a few

7. Year Book, *op. cit.*, 1973—75..

important towns is now being discouraged and they are now more evenly dispersed. This would create job and opportunities and check the influx of the population to a few big industrial towns, such as Karachi, Lahore, Lyallpur, Hyderabad, Multan and Gujranwala.

In Pakistan there are many large and small scale industries which provide jobs for various categories of workers and earn foreign exchange for the country. The following chart shows a few commodities and their rates of production :

PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES[8]

COMMODITY	UNITS	1972-73	1974-75 (TARGET)
Cotton Yarn	Mill Kg	337	431
Cotton Cloth	Mill metre	640	685
Vegetable Ghee	000 tons	180	279
Cigarettes	000 mill Nos	29	32
Sugar	000 tonne	439	660
Cement	000 tonne	2,875	3,150
Fertillizers	000 tonne	704	742
Cotton ginning and pressing.	000 tonne	4,000	—
Art Silk Cloth	000 metre	5,331	—

A description of the principal industry of Pakistan is given below :

(1) *Textile* : This is by far the largest industry of Pakistan, employing over 2,20,000 persons and earning sufficient foreign exchang. There are more than 200 mills which are mostly located at Karachi, Okara, Bhakkar, Burewala, Multan, Lyallpur, Shahdara, Kala (Jhelum), Bahawalpur, Liaquatabad, Tando Yousaf and Tando Jam.

8. Year Book, op. cit., 1973-75.

Karachi is the largest centre of textile industry. The cotton producing hinter-land, availability of capital, good harbour and business ability were the natural factors of its speedy growth. But now the other centres of the textile industry are also growing up.

(2) *Woollen Mills :* In 1947 Pakistan did not have any woollen mill. But today there are many large and small mills which are producing excellent woollen cloth and yarn. The woollen mills at Lawrencepur, Harnai, Bannu, Quaidabad, Islamabad, Multan and Karachi use the locally produced wool and manufacture the best quality of woollen cloth, blankets and carpets.

(3) *Sugar Mills* : The Sugar industry has also grown rapidly. But it has not yet reached the stage of self-sufficiency. Efforts are now being made to expand the existing units and install new factories to meet the rising demand of sugar. At present there are 24 sugar mills. The principal mills which had so far a record production of 6,00,000 tons in 1969-70 are situated at Mardan, Takht Bai, Nowshera, Charsadda, Rahwali, Jauharabad, Lieah, Lyallpur and Larkana. It was estimated that in 1974-75 about 6,60,000 tonne of sugar would be produced.

(4) *Paper Mills* : Paper is a commodity which has an expanding demand from industry and education. At present Pakistan is not self-sufficient in its requirements of various types of paper. There are only three paper and board mills at Rahwali, Charsadda and Nowshera. The Government of Pakistan is making serious efforts to increase the production of paper by improving the existing mills and establishing new factories to make the country self-sufficient in its paper requirements.

(5) *Cement* : The cement industry in Pakistan is a fairly developed industry. A number of cement factories are now producing cement at Wah, Dandot, Hyderabad, Rohri, Daud Khel and Karachi. The factory at Daud Khel produces white cement. Now the total output of cement is sufficiently high. The excess is being exported.

(6) *Pharmaceutical Projects* : Pakistan has set up several manufacturing units for producing various types of medicine including the antibiotics. Many of the pharmaceutical projects are now in operation with the help and cooperation of experienced and renowned foreign firms.

(7) *Chemicals* : A big chemcial complex at Kala Shah Kaku was set up in 1967. It has four units which produce insecticides, caustic soda, acetate, rayon yarn and oil from cotton seeds. A naphta creating plant is being established at Karachi, while a PVC plant and synthetic rubber factory went into operation in 1970.

(8) *Fertilizers* : A big fertilizer factory was established at Daud Khel while the others have been set up at Lyallpur, Multan, Nowshera, Dhariala, Dharki, Karachi and Sheikhupura. They produce ammonium sulphate, superphosphate, nitrogenous fertilizers, Urea, DDT, Caustic Soda and Potash fertilizer etc. But this does not meet the full requirements of the country. Many of these items are, therefore, imported.

(9) *Leather* : It is estimated that the annual production of hides and skins is 16 lakhs pieces which are being processed and tanned in the local tanneries. The leather industry has made a good progress in manufacturing leather goods specially footwears. The skilled workers from Agra and Kanpur have provided the necessary man-power. Batapur, Gujrat and Karachi have now become big centres of leather industry.

(10) *Ship Building* : The Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works has been established to promote the maritime industry. It has constructed Al-Abbas which was 12,860 tons and Lalazar which was 13,500 tons. It is now engaged in constructing oil tankers, steam tugs, vessels ferries, barges of various kinds and launches. The shipyard has arrangements for all types of repair and will soon have the facilities to take up the construction of three ships of more than 12,000 DWT at a time.

(11) *Heavy Mechanical Complex* : The PIDC has set up the heavy mechanical complex at Taxila with the help of the Peoples Republic of China. It has started its production in 1970, and is now assembl-ing road roller and producing steel castings steel ingots, forged billets iron castings, press forging and copper and aluminium castings.

The heavy complex (electrical) is being built with the help of the USSR. It will produce power transformers, airblast circuits, breakers, isolators, capacitors, switch gears, etc.

(12) *Machine Tool Factory* : Machine Tool Factory at Landhi (Karachi), which has been set up at a cost of Rs. 27.56 crore turns out machine tools, gear boxes, axles, brakes, drums, die casting and defence items to supplement the production of the Wah Ordinance Factory.

(13) *Steel Mills* : One of the long awaited and major industrial undertaking is the Karachi Steel Mills project. This is being set up by the Pakistan Steel Mills Corporation at a cost of Rs. 45.00 crore with the help of the Government of the USSR. The capacity of the Karachi Steel Mills shall be 10 lakh tons of finished steel. It is expected that the project will be completed by 1980.

(14) *Ceramics and Glass Works* : The glass manufacturing factories have been set up at Hyderabad, Karachi, Lahore, Jhelum, Gakkar and Multan, which produce all types of glasswares. The ceramic factories at Lalamusa and Karachi are now producing high quality corckery and sanitary goods. Now, a new ceramic complex is being developed at Nowshera to reduce the dependence on foreign countries.

(15) *Other Industries* : The other industries which have contributed to the development of the industrial power of the country include the fruit and vegetable industry, vegetable ghee, sports goods, rubber goods, television receivers, plastic goods, resin goods, flour mills and several others.

(16) *Small Scale Industries* : Pakistan had a large number of small scale industrial units, depending on hand or hand driven machines ; but with the setting up of large machine operated units of industry it is on the decline. The Pakistan Small Industries Corporation has now been established to encourage the development of cottage industry. It now operates 85 projects at Bahawalpur, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Lahore, Larkana, Peshawar, Quetta, Sialkot and Sukkur. But most of the industry which is still in private hands, includes hand loom spinning, weaving, woollen goods, cutlery, khes and lungis, blankets, durries, pottery, surgical instruments, book making, glass bangles, wood work, metal work, leather work, embroidery, knitting and needle work etc. The Pakistani handicrafts are well appreciated the world over and are in great demand in foreign markets.

COMMUNICATIONS

The progress of a country largely depends on its system of communication. At present Pakistan is deficient in goods transportation facilities. Good roads are few and the rail-road transport has yet to reach many areas. The Government of Pakistan has been taking appropriate steps to improve it, but since the population is increasingly getting mobile the problem resolved sometimes still remain unresolved.

There are five principal means of communication generally used in Pakistan. They are the rivers, roads, railways, airways and sea routes.

Rivers : The rivers in Pakistan have since long been used as a common means of transportation, but since the canals flowing from them drain out almost all the water the navigation is made impossible for many parts of the year. The river Indus, however, retains sufficient water for the most part of the year and is being scaled upto Attock. The rivers are still used for floating down the timber and quarried rock and for transporting food grains and livestock.

Roads : The roads are very important for carrying the essential goods to small and large markets. Unfortunately Pakistan does not possess a good and scientific road system. Some of the roads in the country are metalled and some of them are unmetalled. The total length of the metalled roads is about 10,000 miles, while the unmetalled roads measure about 3,300 miles. The following are the

important roads and highways :

(1) *Grand Trunk Road* : The Grand Trunk Road (Shar-e-Azam) connects Lahore with Landi Kotal through Gujranwala, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Peshawar. It is a part of the same road which Sher Shah built from Sonargaon to Attock.

(2) *National Highway* : The National highway connects Karachi with Lahore and passes through, Thatta, Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Sukkur, Bahawalpur, Multan, Sahiwal, Okara and Renala.

(3) *Lahore Quetta Road* : It connects Lahore with Quetta via the National Highway upto Multan and then passes through Taunsa and Dera Ghazi Khan to Kashmor and Quetta.

(4) *Karachi-Quetta Road* : This road connects Karachi with Quetta through Hyderabad-Sukkur and Hyderabad-Jacobabad.

(5) *R.C.D. Highway* : This road will connect Karachi with Iran and will have several link connections. It is expected that the road will be thrown open for public soon.

(6) *Super Highway* : This is a newly built and so far the best metalled road in Pakistan. It connects Karachi and Hyderabad and provides the shortest route between the two cities and further on connects the up-country through the National Highway.

(7) *Sill-Route* : A new all weather road to connect Gilgit in Pakistan and Sinkiang in China has been built to promote trade and commerce. This road passes through difficult mountain ranges and snow covered valleys.

(8) *Indus Super Highway* : A new road called the Indus Super Highway is being built at an estimated cost of Rs. 3,10,00,00,000.00 run on the western bank of the river Indus connecting Karachi and Peshawar with other important towns on the way. The new road when completed will reduce

the distance between the two cities by over 400 miles and provide new incentives for economic development in the areas so far left under-developed. The Indus Highway would be connected with several high speed link roads.

(9) *Other Roads* : There are many other roads which connect some of the important towns of the country not falling on any of the principal highways.

The Government of Pakistan and the provincial governments are seriously engaged in improving the existing roads by metalling the unmetled roads, and building new road links. In 1972-73 the federal and the provincial governments have allocated a sum of Rs. 25.74 crore for the repair, maintenance and construction of roads.

Pakistan Railway : The Pakistan Railway with its main, loop and branch lines are the only rail system in Pakistan which covers 5,464.93 route miles. The Government of Pakistan is taking various measures by providing better amenities for the passengers. The major projects which the Pakistan Railway has recently undertaken include the railway yard at Pipri, the second bridge on Indus at Kotri, a modern railway terminal at Karachi. The electrification of the railway line between Khanewal and Lahore has been completed and some further electrification is planned for the future.

The principal rail routes of Pakistan are :

(1) *Peshawar-Karachi* : This is the main railway line that connects Karachi with its hinterland and runs through Taxila, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Lahore, Khanewal, Multan, Lodhran, Samasatta, Rohri, Nawabshah, Kotri and Hyderabad, covering a distance of 1045 miles.

(2) *Peshawar-Kashmor-Karachi* : This route has been constructed as a parallel main line connecting Kashmor with Dera Ghazi Khan and Kot Adu and then merging into the Multan-Kundian-Jand-Basal line that links the Peshawar-Karachi main line at Campbellpur. This line reduces the distance between Peshawar and Karachi and Rawalpindi and Karachi. When in full use it will save time for the passengers travelling between Peshawar/Rawalpindi and Karachi.

(3) *Karachi-Quetta* : This line connects Karachi with Quetta and runs through Kotri, Dadu, Larkana, Hab b Kot, Jacobabad, Sibi, Spezand and then branches off to Quetta-Bostan-Chaman and from Bostan to Muslimbagh, Fort Sandeman in the north and Mir Java and Zahidan (Iran) in the west. Under the R.C.D. Communication programme this line will be further extended to connect Iran and Turkey.

(4) *Hyderabad-Khokhrapar* : This line goes right upto Indian border and runs through Tando Jam, Mirpur Khas and Pithoro-Khokhrapar inside the Pakistani terriory.

(5) *Karachi-Lala Musa* : This line connects Karachi with Lala Musa via Rohri, Multan, Khanewal, Shorkot Road, Lyallpur, Chak Jhumra, Shahinabad, Sargodha, Malakwal and joins the Peshawar-Karachi main line at Lala Musa.

(6) *Sialkot-Karachi* : This line connects Sialkot with Karachi via Wazirabad (on the main Peshawar-Karachi line), Lyallpur, Shorkot Road, Khanewal (on the mian Peshawer-Karachi line), Multan, Rohri and Hyderabad.

(7) *Branch lines* : Pakistan Railway has several branch lines which provide necessary links to connect villages, small towns and big metroplitan cities.

Airways : Air travel has now become easy and popular. It takes less time and provides comfortable journey. The distances which were covered in the past in days and months are now covered in hours Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) has made a good progress. It now operates two types of service : one is purely domestic and connects the principal towns and distant areas, while the second covers the global air routes.

In the domestic operation PIA connects Karachi with Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar, Hyderabad, Moenjodaro, Sukkur, Quetta, Multan, Lyallpur and with other places through link flights, while flights it operates on the inter-continental routes to Africa, Middle East, Europe, America, China, Japan and other South East Asian countries.

Sea Routes : Pakistan for its trade and commerce largely depends on sea routes. In 1963 the Government of Pakistan established the Pakistan Shipping Corporation which is engaged in promoting the marine trade and navigation. The Pakistan merchant fleet is now operating on seven important routes in the Indian, Atlantic and Pacific oceans. By the end of the Fourth Five Year, it is expected that Pakistan would have 23 ships with a total of 13 lakh DWT. Karachi is the chief sea port which, besides serving the whole country, also provides transit facilities for Afghanistan and handles some trade for China. It has made Karachi a very busy port, but it is hoped that construction of Port Qasim at Pipri will relieve Karachi of its present congestion.

Postal Service and Telecommunication : The Government of Pakistan is responsible for the postal and telecommunication services. These are important media of daily contact. Pakistan has taken measures to modernize its telegraph and telepone services. Automatic telephone exchanges are being installed to connect the important towns and business centres in the country, while facilities for the telecommunication services for other countries of the world are also being provided. You can now talk to any person any time anywhere in the world.

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TRADE AND COMMERCE

Trade on barter or cash payment has all along been a human necessity that existed in one form or the other. In the world today the development of the rapid means of communications has increased the dependence of one nation on the other, and, thereby, increasing the volume of trade and commerce.

In order to meet the new demands the Government has set up the Trading Corporation of Pakistan and to encourage the export of the raw material and manufactured goods to foreign markets. It drives hard to see that the quality of exported goods are maintained to the international standards. Since the prosperity of the nation depends on the large volume of trade with foreign countries the Government of Pakistan has been sending trade missions to various countries to explore new markets, particularly in the South East Asia, Middle East, Africa, and the European countries. It is heartening to note that our foreign trade earnings are on the increase. Pakistan has also its own internal market for its industrial and agricultural products both in villages and towns.

Internal Trade : A brisk trade activity is carried on between various parts of the country throughout the year. The commodities are in constant exchange. The agricultural products, vegetables and milk are sent to the urban markets, while the manufactured goods find their way to the village bazars.

External Trade : This includes both import and export. Foreign trade is conducted through sea, land and air. The sea trade passes through Karachi and over land trade through various highways that connect the neighbouring countries. The commodities are thus sent out and brought in. The air trade does not carry as much volume as the sea or land trade, but in running the essential commodities in the shortest possible time it is gaining ground. This two way trade traffic with other countries of the world is called export and import :

(*i*) *Principal exports* : The chief items of export are the raw material, *i.e.* cotton and cotton twist yarn which yielded a foreign exchange earning of Rs. 232 41 crore in 1972-73. The other important items of export are hide and skin, raw wool, cotton piece goods, fish, rice, footwear, leather and leather goods, sports goods, carpet, tobacco, cotton manufactured goods. These are exported to various countries of the world, specially to the Middle East and Africa. Karachi serves both as a sea port and a base for the air borne trade.

The Government has taken several steps for the standardization of commodities for export and for the promotion of trade in foreign markets. The Export Promotion Bureau helps the promotion of trade with foreign countries, while the Export Quality Control Order 1973 ensures the quality of the commodities exported to other countries.

(*ii*) *Principal imports* : Pakistan imports from China, Japan, West Germany, United States, United Kingdom, France, Middle East and from almost all other countries of the world all kinds of essential items including machinery, iron and steel, vehicles, oils, drugs, and medicines, chemicals, dyes, colours, electrical goods and apparatus, food grains, hardware, liquor and petroleum etc.

POPULATION

Pakistan is a fairly populous country. According to the census of 1972 the total population of Pakistan is 6,48,92,000 out of which 3,44,17,000 are males and 3,04,75,000 are females. The growth rate of population between the census of 1961 and the census of 1972 has been 51.33 per cent, which shows that the population in the country is increasing at a rapid speed. This is true of all the developing countries and equally true of Pakistan. The rapid population growth creates many problems and becomes a drain on the resources of the country. At present Pakistan has very meagre resources and can hardly afford to support this growth. The following chart shows the population, distribution and its density:

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN PAKISTAN

LOCALITY	POPULATION-1972 (IN THOUSANDS) TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	DENSITY PER SQUAR MILE
Pakistan	64,892	34,417	30,475	211
N.W.F.P.	8,402	4,376	4,026	292
Tribal Areas (Centrally Administered)	2,507	1,291	1,216	239
Federal Territory (Islamabad)	235	130	105	671
Punjab	37,374	19,871	17,503	471
Sind	13,965	7,474	6,491	257
Baluchistan	2,409	1,275	1,134	18

Pakistan is basically an agricultural country which has yet to modernize its agriculture and develop its mineral and industrial resources. Since almost 85% of the total population lives in villages, it is placed in the category of an under-developed country. But with the development of natural resources and the establishment of industry the village population is migrating to urban areas where the new industry is generally located and jobs are readily available. This inflow of the unskilled farm labourers to the town of employment poses difficult and complicated social and economic problems. The country needs highly skilled technicians to run the newly established industries. The Government has been aware of the situation and has, therefore, opened technical institutions at the big industrial centres as well as in the interior of the country to attract young people to get sufficient effective training for the new openings in the new industrial projects.

Very few people in Pakistan are literate. The literacy percentage both in the urban and rural areas is very low. It is estimated that 85% of the total population is illiterate. In this respect the cities are a little better places than the villages, but such a low percentage of illiteracy causes difficulties in the manpower development. This is indeed a grave situation, but the Government is taking keen interest in promoting the literacy programme through universalization of primary education and through an effective programme of adult education.

Extreme development programme both in the agriculture and industrial sectors is being taken up by the Government. In the agriculture sector scientific methods of cultivation and irrigation are being gradually adopted. Efforts are being made to increase the agricultural production to meet the food shortage. It is expected that within a very short time Pakistan will be self-sufficient in food. In the industrial sector Pakistan started its onward march from a scratch.

In 1947 Pakistan inherited no notable industry. But with sincerity of purpose and hard work the industrial component of Pakistan is growing up. But the increase in population requires rapid growth in both the sectors. If any sector is neglected or lags behind the population growth would out balance the rate of development. The country, therefore, needs good planning and hard work to overcome these difficulties.

VILLAGES AND TOWNS

Villages: Our villages are thousands of years old. Although they had seen many changes in the past, they need today revolutionary changes in their pattern of life to have a respectable place in the modern technological age. However, it is gratifying to note that these villages are undergoing a change today. The modern means of communication, mechanized agriculture, use of fertilizers, electrification of the villages and new educational facilities have contributed a lot to the progress and development of these villages. The industrial development in the nearby towns have also helped change the complexion of the village society. People are moving to towns to seek employment. Most of them settle down in the town of their employment, but some of them retain their rural relationship and go back to their villages with new ideas and new trends. This is a happy sign which will eventually change the shape and form of the rural areas.

Towns: In Pakistan big and planned towns are not numerous. Only Islamabad, the federal capital has been developed according to a set plan; while the other towns which can boast of modern planning are Karachi and to some extent Lahore. But along with their modern suburbs they have their slums and some of the most congested areas of urban population. The Karachi Development Authority has prepared a Master Plan for the development of Greater Karachi. The plan takes care of the growing needs of the largest metropolis of Pakistan. Since the other towns of Pakistan are also expanding, new satellite towns and suburbs are being developed to lift the face of the towns and accommodate the growing population.

The following is a short description of the six largest towns of the country:

IMPORTANT TOWNS

Town	1961	1972
1. Karachi	12,13,000	34,69,000
2. Lahore	12,96,000	21,48,000
3. Lyallpur	4,25,000	8,20,000
4. Hyderabad	4,35,000	6,24,000
5. Rawalpindi	3,40,000	6,25,000
Islamabad		77,000
6. Multan	3,58,000	5,44,000

Karachi: Karachi is the largest city of Pakistan. A small town of a little over 3 lakhs of population in 1947 has now grown into a robust metropolitan city. According to the census of 1972 it has a registered population of 34,69,000, which is engaged in different occupations. Being the largest industrial and commercial town, the biggest sea port and one of the best airports in the world, Karachi has no parallel in growth and development in a short period of time. In the Karachi master plan the experts contemplate a population explosion of 60 lakhs by the year 1985.

But the town is not humming with chimneys, aeronautics and shipyards only. It has many tall and beautiful buildings, pleasant beaches and modern suburban townships, with wide, green and well lighted roads. As one of the most modern metropolises of the world it has some good educational institutions which include two universities, three medical colleges (one proposed), one post-graduate medical centre, one engineering college (besides the engineering university) one aeronautical engineering college, one marine college and one naval academy.

Lahore: Lahore with a population of 21,48,000 is the second largest town of the country. It is one of the most important towns in Pakistan, which has a long history. The Badshahi Masjid, Shalamar Bagh, the Fort, Jahangir's Tomb and Masjid Wazir Khan are some of the most interesting historical buildings. It was in this town that in 1940 the historic Pakistan Resolution was passed.

Whereas Lahore is now developing into a big industrial and commercial centre, it still retains the traditional Muslim culture. It is beautiful, green and fascinating and has the reputation of being the centre of culture and learning. It has two universities, three medical colleges and scores of other schools and colleges. The Islamic Summit Conference held at Lahore in February, 1974, added lustre to its traditional past. It is indeed a city of great interest for any traveller from any part of the world.

Lyallpur: Developing from a small grain market Lyallpur is now the third largest town of the country. During these years its

industrial development was phenominal. It has a university, specializing in agriculture, and Agricultural Research Institute, a textile institute and a medical college. Lyallpur is connected with Karachi, Lahore and other towns by air, rail and road.

Hyderabad : Hyderabad is the fourth largest town. It is an important industrial and commercial centre, connected with Karachi and the up-country with railways, roads and air links. It has a university, a medical college and an engineering college and many other schools and colleges.

Rawalpindi-Islamabad : As the headquarters of the armed forces and the cultural centre of the Pothwar region, Rawalpindi has developed into a sizable metropolis. With the shifting of the capital from Karachi to Islamabad, eight miles from Rawalpindi, its importance has further increased. The twin cities have now two universities, one medical college and several other institutions. Islamabad is well known for its beautiful buildings, wide roads and greenery.

Multan : Multan is one of the oldest cities of Pakistan. But because of its desert surrounding it was not very populous. In recent years, however, the construction of the canals and the mango-tree plantation has changed its desert complexion. It is now an important industrial and commercial town situated about half way from the extreme north to the extreme south. It is linked by rail, road and air with all the important towns of the country. Besides many schools and colleges it has a well established medical college; and now a university is being built to promote the cause of higher education.

OTHER IMPORTANT TOWNS

The other important towns which are coming up, are Gujranwala (3,66,000), Peshawar (2,73,000), Sargodha (2,03,000), Sukkur (1,59,000), Quetta (1,56,000) and Bahawalpur (1,34,000). Of these Peshawar and Quetta are the seats of the respective provincial governments of the NWFP and Baluchistan and important centres of culture and learning. While Gujranwala and Sialkot are turning up

into thriving centres of industry and commerce. Sargodha is emerging as a town of importance on the outskirts of the Thal, only next to Lyallpur. Peshawar stands on the gateway to the Khyber Pass and has one university, one medical college, one engineering college and many schools and colleges, whereas Quetta across the Bolan Pass in the Kirthar range connects the minerally rich Baluchistan with the rest of the country as well as with Iran, and other Middle-Eastern countries. Although Bahawalpur cannot claim the status of Peshawar or Quetta, it has recently developed into a big centre of learning. It has one university and one medical college besides many other schools and colleges. In Sind, Sukkur is only next to Hyderabad in population. It is a big industrial and commercial town and serves as an important trade link between Quetta and other parts of the country; whereas the establishment of the Chanka Medical College at Larkana and the People's Medical College and the proposed university of Engineering and Technology at Nawabshah have brought these two towns into prominence.

Hill Stations and Health Resorts: There are many good places in the northern and the western mountain ranges which have developed into fascinating hill stations and health resorts. Thousands of people visit these places to spend their holidays. Of these Murree, Ayubia, Nathiagali, Abbotabad, Swat, Quetta and Ziarat need special mention. There are several other places which are fast developing into good hill stations, and when developed will attract the holiday makers and the tourists.

HEALTH AND SANITATION[1]

Health is important for the healthy national development. It is more important in developing countries like Pakistan where a large section of the population live near or below subsistance level. The development in industry and agriculture is possible only when the tiller of the soil and the industrial workers are healthy. If the food they eat is deficient and the environment in which they work is unhygeinic, they cannot labour hard on the farm or in our industrial plants. This will result in low production. What they need to increase the production is good food and healthy environment. If these two basic elements are provided, the production will naturally go up and the diseases will be reduced.

The health and sanitary conditions in Pakistan need special attention. There is still much to be desired. The food and food stuff generally available are adulterated and injurious to health. The Government has taken a serious view of the situation and has adopted certain restrictive measures for the supply of good food for human consumption. But this is the duty of every individual and particularly the dealers in food to see that adulteration in food is completely wiped off. The non-supply of hygeinic food and unsanitary conditions of living cause complicated health problem, for which an effective health programme has been necessary.

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1. Year Book, *op. cit.*, 1973-75.

The Government has been conscious of the problem. It has prepared a comprehensive health programme and has launched it to reach every individual citizen within a period of eight years. It has been proposed to provide basic medical facilities for all by establishing a medical unit for a population of every ten thousand. These medical units will have sufficient supply of medicines for the patients coming for medical care. At present there is a great shortage of physicians in rural areas. Medical graduates for various reasons prefer to stay in towns. The Government has now decided to give several incentives to attract the physicians and surgeons to go to the villages.

It has been further proposed that on every five units there shall be a rural health centre, which will have a small hospital of ten beds. The Tehsil hospital will have sixty beds with better qualified medical staff, while each district headquarter will have a hospital of 250 beds with specialist services. It is hoped that when the scheme is fully implemented the rural dispensaries and hospitals will have a total strength of 3,365 ; whereas the number of working physicians and surgeons will rise to 6,908. The Government has also planned to conduct research on tuberclosis, cancer and occular diseases and the National Medical Institute will be established to give training for the treatment of these diseases.

For this purpose the Govern ment has re-organized the medical education. Now there are fourteen (14) medical colleges in the country which are expected to produce the necessary professional medical staff to meet the rising requirements of the country. It is expected that within a reasonable limit of time there will be one doctor for a population of 4,500. When achieved this will, in deed, be a singular achievement of the health policy.

The Government has promulgated the Drug Ordinance, 1976 to regulate the supply of medicine at a reasonable price and check on the supply of spurious drugs. These measures will ultimately help improve the national health which would contribute to better production and better economic life.

Labour Welfare : The prosperity and the progress of a country depend upon its workers. As has been said Pakistan is basically

an agricultural country, but within a short time its industry has also reached the stage where manufactured goods are exported to other countries of the world, particularly the Middle East and Africa. But the production in agriculture is still very low and needs to be accelerated. Whereas the production in industry is comparatively high, but it has not reached its maximum capacity. Our imports outbalance the exports and cause difficulties in the balance of payment.

This situation can be averted only through high rate of production both in the industrial and agricultural sectors. But the level of production cannot be raised unless the workers are industrious, co-operative and zealous.

The Government has been fully aware of the situation. It took keen interest in labour reform. In 1972 the Government enforced the new labour reforms which provided a new bargaining base.

The objective of these reforms is to guarantee the labourers rights of collective bargaining through their own independent union. It also gaurantees the formation of trade-unions, security in services, representation in the management, share in the profit, payment of bonus, care and compensation in case of injury, gratuity and group insurance, improvement of living conditions, old age pensions, free education for their children and the residential and medical facilities. To ensure that the employers provide these facilities the Government has passed various ordinances. Recently an ordinance guaranteeing the old age pension has been promulguted. These measures will help improve the living conditions of the labourers and contribute to the increase in production which will bring prosperity to all.

THE CONSTITUTION MAKING

Objectives Resolution: The Muslims fought for their constitutional rights in India for a long time. It has already been stated that the Muslims did not participate in the Constituent Assembly of India elected under the Government of India Act, 1935 unless their rights were safeguarded. When Pakistan was established in August 1947 the Government of India Act, 1935 as adopted by Pakistan served as the basic Constitution to administer the affairs of the state. But the need of a constitution framed by the elected representatives of the people was all the more necessary for a free people. A Constituent Assembly for this purpose was elected by the legistative assemblies of the provinces.[1]

Pakistan was created in the name of Islam and one of the objectives of the new state was to preserve the cultural heritage of the Muslims and provide conditions wherein they could mould their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam. It was, therefore, obligatory on the Constituent Assembly to lay "emphasis on the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice" and incorporate them in the Constitution as enunciated by Islam which "recognises no distinction based upon race, colour and birth."

Discussions on the pattern of the constitution were held inside the assemblies and the intelligentsia participated in the debate

1. Supra

through newspapers and journals. There was a general consensus that since "Islam lays emphasis on the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance" they should find way in the new constitution.

Following these debates and discussions a resolution containing the principal guidelines for constitution making was moved by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on March 7, 1949. In the general discussion the Hindu members of the Constituent Assembly moved some amendments, but the house did not accept them. The resolution commonly known as "Objective Resolution", was moved and passed clause by clause, and finally on March 12, 1949 the Constituent Assembly adopted it. The Objective Resolution contains the following principles for Constitution making in the newly acquired independent Islamic state.

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful ;

WHEREAS sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limit prescribed by Him is a sacred trust ;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for sovereign independent State of Pakistan ;

WHEREIN the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people ;

WHEREIN the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed ;

WHEREIN the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna[2] ;

WHEREIN adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religion's and develop their cultures ;

WHEREBY the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in

2. Tradition of the Holy Prophet.

or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries all limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed ;

WHEREIN shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality.

WHEREIN adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes ;

WHEREIN the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured ;

WHEREIN the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its indepedence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded ;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity."

The passage of the Objectives Resolution formed the basis of future Constitution making in Pakistan. It has been incorporated in the preamble of the 1956 Constitution and has since then served as the guiding principle for subsequent Constitution making. The Constitution of 1973 in its essence, reflects the same principles of the Objective Resolution as have been accepted in the previous Constitutions.[3]

The Constitution of 1973 : The process of constitution making in Pakistan started in 1947, but except the adoption of the Objecttives Resolution the constitution making as such was either deferred or prolonged. The delay created many problems. The ideological unity and the honesty of purpose which helped achieve an independent Muslim state was being frustrated by selfish motives. The Bengla regionalism was allowed to play with the sentiments of the people and many issues considered to have been resolved started raising their heads. By his unequivocal declaration that Urdu and Urdu alone would be the national language of Pakistan the Quaid-e-

3. Draft Constitution of 1954, Constitution of 1956, 1962 and 1972.

Azam had pronounced his judgement and had thus buried the controversy. But the Hindu nationalists revived it as a live issue. The jute trade and the provincial share in the foreign exchange earnings, employment in the armed forces and federal services and similar other issues were raised and fanned up. Consequently the constituent assembly which also functioned as the parliament of the country remained seized with secondary and unimportant issues and no progress was made in the process of constitution making.[4]

Following the assassination of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan passed through several political crises. The changing loyalties of the members of the National Assembly made the governments fall shortly. It was, therefore, not possible to give attention to constitution making. However, in 1956, the difficulties were encountered to work out a compromise formula on the basis of East-West parity and the much awaited constitution was finalised. Along with Urdu, Bengla was also declared a national language. Although the 1956 constitution did not fulfil all the aspirations of the people, its promulgation was welcomed as a happy omen, the deadlock was at last broken.[5]

The people anxiously waited for new elections under the new constitution. The country was bumming with political activities. The political parties started their election campaign. It was hoped that the new elections would restore stability to the government. But in the midst of the brisk preparations for elections of the country suffered yet another setback, when the President, in collaboration with the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, imposed martial law. The constitution was abrogated, elections were cancelled, and then the President who brought the military in power was soon forced out of his office.

The commander-in-chief himself assumed the offices of the President and the Chief Martial Law Administrator and ruled the country with the help of the generals. He appointed a constitution commission to recommend for the preparation of the new constitution. But the recommendations did not suit him. He scrapped them and got a new constitution of his liking prepared. When the

4. Supra.

5. The Constitution of 1956.

new constitution on the basis of indirect election through the institution of basic democracy was promulgated in 1962, General Ayub was elected the President, but when in 1969 the political agitation forced him to abdicate, President Ayub acted against his own constitution and appointed the commander-in-chief of the armed forces as the new President. It was a bad day for Pakistan. After assuming power General Yahya abrogated the 1962 constitution.

The elections held during his administration under the legal framework on the basis of one man one vote, gave a numerical majority to East Pakistan. This helped Sheikh Mujib emerge as the leader of the majority party without having in its fold even a single member from West Pakistan. Such a situation was politically untenable. Disregarding the legal frame work Sheikh Mujib wanted the National Assembly to rubber stamp and adopt the secular constitution framed by his party on the basis of six points of its manifesto. This was naturally unacceptable to the majority party in West Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujib did not act like a statesman. Not only he refused negotiations, but in his utterences and actions he was hitting hard the integrity of the country. He was arrested but the stalemate continued until the Indian invasion and occupation of East Pakistan in 1971. Subsequently after the fall of East Pakistan the creation of the Bengladesh was declared.

Pakistan was now squeezed to the territorial limits of West Pakistan and Mr. Z. A. Bhutto as the leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party that emerged as the single majority party in West Pakistan was called upon by the Generals to form the Government. Among many other difficult problems demanding his immediate attractions constitution making was not less arduous. Encouraged by the so-called achievement of Sheikh Mujib the secessionists in this part of the country became active under the garb of provincial autonomy and obstructed the passage of the constitution bill. But after many parley's discussions and exchange of views the provisions made in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan including provincial autonomy were mutually agreed. The constitution bill was finally adopted by the Assembly on April 10, 1973 ; whereas it was enforced on August 14, 1973. The enforcement of the constitution was laudable. It has once for all cleared the mess and made its abrogation an act of treason.

The permanent constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is federal and parliamentary based on the Islamic principles of equity and justice. It recognizes Islam as the religion of the country and enjoins upon the state to serve the cause of Islam, establish social justice and provide equality of opportunity.

President: The head of the state is called the President of Pakistan, while the executive head of the Government is the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The President who is elected by the National Assembly for a period of five years must necessarily be a Muslim. Under the provisions of the constitution the President is the constitutional head of the state required to uphold and protect the constitution. In all the affairs of the state he is to act under the advice of the Prime Minister.

Prime Minister : The National Assembly elects from amongst its Muslim members directly elected by the people, the Prime Minister of the country. As the executive head of the Government he would select, from amongst the members of the National Assembly or Senate Ministers, Ministers of the State and Parliamentary Secretaries. The Prime Minister and the members of his cabinet in the performance of their duties are responsible to the Parliament. The members of the cabinet as a strong team of the representatives of the people formulate the policies and control and run the administration of the country for the betterment of the people.

The federal structure of the constitution provides a federal legislature comprising the National Assembly and the Senate and a provincial legislature for each of the federating units.

Federal Legislature : The Federal Parliament consists of two houses. The lower house is called the National Assembly. The members of the National Assembly are elected directly by the people for a period of five years provided the assembly is not dissolved earlier. It functions as the principal legistature of the country which discusses and passes the budget, make necessary legislature, examines and evaluates the policies and the administration of government. The assembly has the power to censure the government and bring a no confidence motion against the Prime Minister.

Senate : The upper house is called the Senate. Each Provincial Assembly elects 14 members on a single transferable vote, while the

members of the National Assembly from the tribal areas under the federal administration elect 5 members and the federal capital returns two members in a manner deemed appropriate by the President. These members are elected for a period of four years with the provision that half of the members would retire after every two years. The senate takes up the bills passed by the National Assembly. It can accept, modify or reject the bill within a period of 90 days. But its approval in matters of finance bill is not necessary.

Speaker : The National Assembly elects from amongst its members a speaker and a deputy speaker to conduct the business of the house, whereas the member so elected in the senate is known as the chairman of the senate.

Provincial Legislature : In accordance with the provisions made in the constitution each province has its own legislative assembly. The members of the provincial assembly are elected directly by the people for a period of five years provided it is not dissolved earlier. Like the federal lower house the provincial assembly also elects from amongst its members a speaker and a deputy speaker to conduct the business of the house.

The provincial legislature in its function is almost similar to the National Assembly. It has power to discuss and enact laws on all subjects included in the provincial and concurrent lists. It discusses and passes the budget, evaluates and judges the functioning of the government. It can also censure the government and table a no-confidence motion against the Chief Minister.

The Provincial Government is led by a constitutional Governor appointed by the federal Government. The executive head of the provincial government is called the Chief Minister. He runs the administration of the province with the help of his cabinet collegues drawn from the members of the provincial legislature. His powers and functions are specified in the constitution. But if the federal government is convinced that the provincial government is not working in the best interest of the people, it can impose the governors rule in the province for a period specified in the constitution.

Judiciary : The Supreme Court of Pakistan with its permanent seat at Islamabad is the highest authority for the administration of justice. Whereas each of the federating units have its own high

courts and subordinate courts functioning under the authority of the provincial high courts. The President of Pakistan appoints the Chief Justice of Pakistan, while the other judges of the supreme court are appointed by the President in consultation with the chief justice of Pakistan. It hears appeals filed against the judgements given by any of the high courts and the references made by the government or any issue of national importance.

The high courts as the highest judicial authority in a province has a chief justice and a number of judges determined by law. The chief justice of a high court is appointed by the President, whereas the other judges are appointed by the President in consultation with the chief justice of Pakistan, the Chief Justice of the high court concerned and the provincial governer. The high court hears cases coming from the subordinate courts within its jurisdiction writ petitions and other cases infringing upon the rights of an individual citizen.

Supreme Judicial Council : The Supreme Judical Council of Pakistan consists of the Chief Justice of Pakistan, two senior most judges of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and the senior most judges of the high courts. This council is empowered to make an evaluation of the use of powers by the judges and the method of their application.

Tribunals : The legislative assemblies can set up tribunals for the personel in the service of Pakistan, enemy property and taxation authorities.

Council of Mutual Interest : The President appoint a Council of Mutual Interest comprising the chief ministers of the provinces and the representatives of the federal government nominee as need be, by the Prime Minister of Pakistan from time to time to look after the subjects coming under the perview of the Federal Government.

National Economic Council : The President appoints a National Economic Council. It consists of the Prime Minister as its chairman and the members nominated by the President including one member from each of the provinces. The chief function of the council is to look after the total economic condition of the country and advise the federal and the provincial governments in matters of finance, trade and social and economic policies.

Islamic Ideology Council : In accordance with the provisions of the constitution the President appoints an Islamic Ideology Council for a period of three years consisting of 8 to 15 members drawn from those who possess the knowledge of the Quran and Sunnah or those who have an understanding about the economic and administrative problem and the political law of the country. The President appoints one of the members to work as the chairman of the council. The chief responsiblity of the council is to recommend to the assemblies such measures that would bring the individual and collective life of the people in conformity with the principles laid down in the Quran and Sunnah and to bring the Islamic Laws and injunctions for the guidance of national and provincial assemblies in such a form that may provide a legal framework. The council is required to give its provisional reports annually and the complete and final report in seven years from the date it has been constituted.

Elections : In accordance with the provision of the constitution the President appoints the Election Commissioner. He is selected from amongst the judges of the supreme and high courts, or persons who have worked as judges of these courts in the past or have the qualification and competence of being appointed a judge of the supreme court for a period of three years This may be extended for another year through a resolution of the National Assembly.

The Election Commissioner functions as the Chairman of the Election Commission comprising two other members. One of these two members need, be a judge of a high court. The Election Commissioner get the electoral roll prepared and published for holding general bye elections for the national and provincial assemblies and the senate. The Election Commissioner is empowered to ensure that the elections are held according to the law, free from and interference and in a judicious and congenial atmosphere.

The salient features of the constitution are given below :
Fundamental rights : It has been laid down in the constitution that :

i, ii, iii, iv, v, xi, xiv, xv, xvi, xxiii,

Duties of the government :—

i, vi, x, xi, xii, xiii, xv, xx, xxi, xxii.

IDIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL UNITY

Sometimes it is said that Pakistan is a land of old culture and that it should go back to the pre-historic age of five thousand years old. The call epitomizes the claim inasmuch as it appeals to emotions, but when analysed in the real cultural perspective the contention may have some challenging questions. To what extent and how far can we delude in the wheels of the Indus-valley civilization? I mean conceptually and physically. This needs to be answered squarely before any judgement is passed on the modern man who is a Muslim as well. There is no doubt that the archaelogical researches have unfolded many unread pages of history. The ruins of Harappa and Moen-Jo-Daro and the remains of Taxila speak of a highly developed culture that flourished from time to time; and we should be proud of that. But at the same time the bye-product of an historical evolution should not be obliterated.

The advent of Islam in the eighth century brought a new force that had changed the complexion of the existing culture by evolving a new social order based on the concept of Tauhid, Risalat, and Universal Brotherhood. Sometimes it is wrongly presumed that only music, dance and colourful appearance make the culture of a society. This is not wholly true. Culture encompasses all that is best in a society and this is more true in case of a society that takes its inspiration from Islam. The unity of thought and purpose has always inspired the Muslims to build up an equitable and just social order. There are undoubtedly local variations in customs, languages and dialects, but these are only outer manfistations. The oneness that springs from Islam adds

brilliance to the local variations wherever they exist. As a matter of fact they are not the conflicting but contributory elements in the growth of culture.

This belies the regionalists who claim that each racial, ethnic and linguistic group that makes up the population of Pakistan has a definite cultural identification. It is true that there are many shades and variations in the composition of the population. In some of the areas they have intermingled ; while in the others they have kept their identity. They are mostly known after the languages they speak. But Islam links them together and forges them into one unified brotherhood. This link is stronger than the link of race, colour, and language. This is why the parochial and similar other distinguishing characteristics find no place in the process of integration and feeling of oneness. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan has been established to revitalize the social, economic and moral life of the Muslims for a prosperous and integrated society.

The Pakistan movement has spear-headed that belief in one God, one Prophet and one Book makes the Muslim society a unified whole and creates oneness in thought and action. When the Muslim League launched its campaign to achieve Pakistan, it had differed in its view with the Indian National Congress which was a predominantly Hindu Organization. The difference in belief and pattern of living was wide and fundamental whereas Islam does not recognize any racial and geographical barrier and unifies the otherwise conflictting elements in an integrated order, the Hindu society is divided into castes and sub-castes and a large section of its population is condemned as untouchables. But on the contrary Islam does not permit exploitation of man by man, and Pakistan stands for this social and economic justice.

The vast majority of the people of Pakistan are Muslims who have inherited a common culture developed by the Muslims of the subcontinent under the influence of Islam. This influence is deep and well grounded. Today in their dress, eating-habits, mode of living, laws, religious and social institutions, thought and expression, literature, customs and traditions, history and culture, art and architecture, music and folklore, they reflect the impact of the same social and moral order. The Badshahi Masjid Lahore, Masjid-i-Mahabat Khan Peshawar and the Shahjahani Masjid, Thatta are but the expression

of the same texture of feeling and intellectual pursuits. Pakistan stands for one ideology and one culture. The groups and sub-cultures represent only the shades of the greater culture in which all merge and make a solid base for further enrichment.

The Second Islamic Summit Conference held at Lahore in February, 1974 has clearly demonstrated that the Muslims of the world belong to one nation (Millat) that cuts across the racial and linguistic barriers. There is no distinction between the Arab and the non-Arab and between the white and the non-white. This demonstration of brotherhood and solidarity is not the result of any external factor ; it is rather much more than that. It is inherent in the teaching of Islam which has found its expression on a common platform.

The chief elements of the cultural build-up in a Muslim society are, therefore, the concepts of monotheism (Tauhid توحید) prophethood (Risalat رسالت) and universal brotherhood (Ukhuwat اخوة) as laid down in the Quran.

Tauhid or Unity of God : (توحید)[1]

According to the Islamic concept of universe life is not the result of an accident. It is rather based on an organized, disciplined and meaningful creation as ordained by Allah with definite ends and purposes. He is the supreme Creator and Providence and rules over everything that is found in the universe. The Quran has explained that He is the Creator and Sustainer and to Him belongs the Kingdom of this universe wherein no one shares His Power and Authority. It was the will of God to create man to develop his spiritual and material life. He is free to choose his way and attain maturity in his behaviour.

For his guidance Allah has revealed the Quran to the Prophet of Islam, who was shown the path of righteousness. He who follows the teaching of the Quran enjoys happiness in his spiritual and material life. As a matter of fact the Quran is a complete code of life that regulates the daily life of an individual in relation to his God, society and environment. On his good or bad action depends the award and punishment.

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1. Rashid M.A. *Islami Riasat-o-Hukumat*, Karachi, 1973,pp. 137-234.

The concept of Tauhid (توحید) emphatically stresses that in His authority over the formation and function of various bodies in the universe, He is absolute. All prayers and supplications are due to Him ; He possesses eternal knowledge ; He is Almighty ; His bounty is without any limits ; He is the giver of life ; He is the Provident On the Day of Judgement He wields absolute power for punishment and reward. He is one and with Him no one shares any one of His qualities.

Tauhid or the unity of God is the fundamental belief on which the Islamic society or Millat is based. The belief in one God is an effective antidote against the forces of exploitation, hatred and hostility and brings warring elements into one united brotherhood within the bounds of Islam. The Muslims of India and Pakistan have long cherished this goal and struggled for the establishment of a social order where justice and equality have firm roots ; exploitation of man by man ceases and race, colour or geography is not allowed to weaken the secure foundations of the Millat.

Once a strong belief in one God is developed in an individual, he is freed from all bondages. He gains self-respect and confidence in his own destiny. Obedience to one God saves him from obedience to many others ; and as vicegerent of his creator on earth enjoys the status of the best of His creations. When an individual submits to the will of God, he washes off his bad actions, injustices and irresponsibilities and abiding himself to one central authority develops in his personality a balance for his fellow beings that makes him judicious in approach and action.

Prophethood (رسالت)[2]

The chief function of the mission of a prophet is to convey the message of God to mankind and maintain a balance between his physical and spiritual needs. The prophet-reformer spends his life in the best spirit of his teaching revealed to him ; and indeed, there can be no better instrument of instruction than living a life in the true spirit of the word of the God.

The Muslims believe in the finality of the mission of the Prophet of Islam, and adherence to his teachings is a major element that helps in shaping the attitude of an individual Muslim in relation

2. Rashid, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-234.

to his society. Any impartial observer would find in the Prophet of Islam a capable and benevolent leader, simple in habit but honest straightforward and firm in his mission. The Quran has particularly stressed on the following six qualities of prophethood :-

1. worthy of being obeyed ;
2. interpreter of the word of God ;
3. a teacher and a patron ;
4. a leader worthy of being followed ;
5. a law giver and legislator and ;
6. a judge and philosopher.

If this criterion is strictly applied to the Prophet of Islam he would be adjudged as a person who possessed qualities of head and heart that made him a highly respected leader of mankind.

It is, therefore, binding upon every Muslim to have faith in the finality of his mission. The Quran has categorically declared that "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah and the last of the Prophets" and "I have completed your Deen (religion) today". In this way a Muslim reposes a complete faith in his mission, accepts his leadership, follows his teachings and shows a deep love for him.

Muslim Polity[3]

It is being said that man is dependent upon his social life. No life without social interaction can be conceived of. From his cradle to his grave man remains in need of a collective life that organizes individual activities in their social perspective. In any social polity home, parents, brothers and sisters, wife and children and scores of friends, and relatives constitute the required social phenomenon wherein the individual finds his own self.

Islam by itself is a social polity composed of some solid and permanent values. The Islamic social order, wherein all its components are integrated, is based on justice, equality and brotherhood. They encampass all the manifestations of life, control the spiritual and physical life of an individual in relation to his other fellow being, and build up the social order as such. Islam takes care of both the Individual and the society. Whereas social reform may be considered as its ultimate aim, reform of an individual in the best spirit of Islam is equally important. Islam recognizes the individual self and

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3. Rashid, *op. cit.*

assigns to him a significant place in life. He is neither a shadow of his environment nor a lifeless creature floating without any purpose. He is very much a living organism of his social polity and is responsible for all his commissions and omissions. These individuals, groomed under the best discipline of Islam, can naturally form a society of enlightened, responsible, judicious and creative citizens.

Justice (عدل)[4]

The social interaction within a group of individuals helps form a society. But since individuals are human beings, differences in views and methods of approach are bound to appear. It seems, therefore, necessary that a judicious balance should be maintained among the individuals with differing ideals and conflicting notions of rights and responsibilities. If such a balance is maintained it would guarantee the progress of the society without any individual or collective hindrances. If a society is rendered incapable of maintaining such a balance, chaos and anarchy are bound to follow.

In Islam the organization of justice is an essential part of the code of life, the messenger of Allah brought to mankind. It stands supreme both in the theory and practice, because justice is not only an ideal concept, but is actually practised in daily life. In short the entire fabric of life is woven around justice and equality which create a good environment for tolerance, understanding and cooperation. It has been clearly defined in the Quran that the objective of the book is to establish justice among various sections of the society. Every Muslim is required to be just and God-fearing in all his dealings. The wealth or poverty of an individual is, therefore, not significant in the administration of justice in a Muslim society. Justice demands justice for all and requires that a muslim should be just even to his enemy.

The principles of justice derived from the Quran and Sunnah constitute the Islamic concept of justice. Accordingly the liberties and privileges that an individual enjoys under the laws revealed in the Quran can be in no circumstances taken away from him. There is no authority whatsoever to deny the rights by Allah. When

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4. Rashid, *op. cit.*

Islamic pattern of life is fully introduced and maintained, it guarantees the justice as ordained by Allah.

Equality(مساوات)[5]

In Islam equality has two aspects : one is legal equality and the other is social equality. According to legal equality all Muslims have the same rights and privileges and are governed by the same laws, and all laws apply equally to all the members of the Millat. Each individual has equal rights and equal obligations. In the eyes of law there is neither any master nor any slave, neither any big person nor any small. Neither there is anybody who is exempted from the application of law nor there is anybody who is subjected to law and order because he happens to be poor. Nobody has any upper hand over the other. All are equal and treated on equal footing. Equality thus means equal economic, social and educational opportunities. That is to say each individual member of the millat has the same rights and privileges to attain any social and economic status and educational standard. In the daily social norms equality is maintained in the daily prayers and the individuals collective life.

Brotherhood (اخوہ)[6]

One of the fundamental principles of Muslim polity is the concept of brotherhood. Islam does not recognise equality of mankind only in theory, but it positively preaches that all Muslims are brothers (کل مسلم اخوۃ). The Prophet of Islam declared that "an Arab has no privilege and superiority over an Ajami (non-Arab) and similarly an Ajami cannot claim any privilege or superiority over an Arab. You are all descendents of Adam and Adam was made of clay." As such individual Muslim needs to have the same standard of relationship as one brother has for the other. They should love each other and treat each other with care and kindness. A Muslim should be the well-wisher of the other Muslim rather the whole of mankind. He should be tolerant to give as much assistance as he could possibly give. In the eyes of Allah greatness is built up only by good deeds; neither by birth nor wealth nor placement in life.

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5. Rashid, *op. cit.*
6. Rashid, *op. cit.*

As such Pakistan is an ideological state established on the basis of the Muslim demand for an independent homeland. The decline of the Muslim power in India during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries threw them in a state of anarchy ; and when the military and political power collapsed, their economic structure also broke down. Now they had neither the power nor the money to sustain themselves. It appeared at that time that they would not survive and would be completely wiped off from the Indian soil. But a score of freedom fighters upheld the cause of the Indian Muslims and saved them from complete destruction. Each of these reformers had his own way of reforming and revitalizing the muslim society, but in principle they were interested only in the Muslim renaissance in the sub-continent. They strived hard and worked meticulously to regenerate to a new life in almost all fields of human activity.

By 1858 A. D. the Muslim military resistance was completely shattered and there was no hope of its revival for some time. The Mughal Emperor was banished to Rangoon and many of the freedom fighters and innocent muslims were killed. The English were now supreme. They had the political and the military power and had a firm control over the economic life of the people. Of all the people living in India the Indian Muslims were the worst hit. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan realised the graveness of the situation and diagnosed that until a complete intellectual regeneration was made, there was little hope for any spectacular political and military achievement. He persuaded the muslims to study the new disciplines and keep pace with the advancement of knowledge.

He believed that the muslims had their own individuality which was to be maintained and developed. He jealously guarded their interest and helped them move towards complete self-realization. His associates and followers made earnest efforts to restore self-confidence in the Indian Muslims and to maintain their entity as an important element of the Indian society. The Islamic ideology shaping the life of the individual Muslim found its expression in the Khilafat movement. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and his associates, many of them the products of Aligarh, infused a new spirit in the movement. This helped the Indian Muslims discipline them-

selves as an active force and make sacrifices for the cause without any fear of the British colonial tyranny.

In 1930, following the Khilafat movement, Dr. Iqbal advocated for an independent homeland for the Muslims of India where they could lead their life in accordance with the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. Since the Islamic concept of nation-hood is opposed to the European concept of a nation based on geography, race and language, it transcends all geographical, racial and linguistic barriers. Dr. Iqbal tried hard to bring these facts to the notice of the Indian Muslims in particular and familiarize them with the nature of the Muslim polity. He forcefully advocated the realization and formation of an ideal Islamic society that takes its inspiration from the Quran and ordains the individual and collective life of the Muslims.[7]

So great was the impact of the European concept of nation-hood and the philosophy of equality and liberty that the subject nations under their colonial influence had been driven to believe that there could be no better social and economic order than what their masters had been infusing in them for a long time. The expression of any feeling against the colonial philosophy of life seemed to have been old and obsolete. At least the West dominated world-press was not prepared to give any consideration to the ideals of Islam rad its philosophy of freedom, equality, justice and economic order. But at least one voice came as a clarion call. The spirited efforts of the Quaid-e-Azam in the teeth of opposition of the Western press, the European colonialism and the Hindu domineering attitude helped him raise his voice that the Muslims with their own distinct religion and culture, were a nation. In the beginning he was ridiculed, but when he got the Indian Muslims united on one platform his voice could not be ignored. He made it clear to the world and against vehement opposition from all sides that the belief in one God, one Prophet, one Book and in one common destiny make the Muslims a nation.[8]

Pakistan thus came Into being as an independent homeland of the Indian Muslims. The areas predominantly inhabited by the

7. For details see *Asrar-e-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, of Dr. Iqbal.
8. Waheed, *op. cit.*

musilms constitued Pakistan. It was expected that the muslims in Pakistan would soon develop themselves into a strong force which would not only safeguard the interests of the muslims living inside the territorial limites of Pakistan, but would prove a great deterent against any injustice done to the muslims who would physically live in India. The creation of Pakistan has thus offered great hopes and promises for the muslims of the sub-continent.

But since its very inception it has to encounter a score of enemies inside and outside the country. The Hindus who agreed to the independent nationhood of the Indian Muslims in 1947 only in the hope that the new country would not survive for a long time, were actively engaged in breaking Pakistan into pieces. The killing of the Muslims in the East Punjab, Delhi, Rajputana and other places forced millions of people to take refuge in Pakistan. It was done in a planned manner to weaken the economy of the new country and destroy the new born nation at its inception. This was a formidable task but the ideological unity of the nation and its firm faith in its own destiny helped it to steer through the troubled waters. But this was not all which the enemies of Pakistan had in their bag. The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir were struggling against the tranny of their Hindu ruler for a long time. In 1947, conditions in Kashmir became intolerable and the Muslims all over the state rose in rebellion against the Dogra rule. The Maharaja was unwilling to accede to Pakistan and was waiting for an opportune time to accede to India.

The Redcliffe award in which the predominantly Muslim district of Gurdaspur was given to India, an easy access to Jammu and the Kashmir valley was ensured. This strengthened the Maharaja and he readily acceded to India according to a formula agreed between Lord Mountbatten, the British Governor-General of India and the Hindu leadership. When the instrument of accession was signed India sent in its armed forces to occupy Kashmir. Fierce fighting took place, but the poorly organized freedom fighters could not possibly hold on. Pakistan tried to help the Muslims of Kashmir, but it succeeded to liberate only a part of it. Since then the fate of Kashmir is lurking on, because India is avoiding a plebescite under the UN supervision to which it has committed itself in the

world forum. The Russian vetoes in the Security Council has so far helped India flout the UN resolutions. However, Pakistan is always hopeful of resolving the Kashmir problem and efforts are being made to keep it a live issue.[9]

During the short period of its existence Pakistan faced many internal dissensions and foreign conspiracies. The forces of disintegration working inside the country in collaboration with foreign powers proved disastrous. The parochial and secular approach of some of the political leaders who had been closely associated with the Hindu dominated Indian National Congress or with the dialectic materialism of the secularist Marxism or with the concept of narrow geographical nationalism, caused disruption, chaos and disintegration. The exponents of these schools of thought concentrated their campaign on geographical and linguistic divisions and demanded for ethnic, racial and cultural groupings, asserting thereby that something like a principal culture had yet to be developed in Pakistan. In some case these leaders had the blessings of Afghanistan, India and possibly some other powers interested in the disintegration of the country. Although Pakistan has been helping Afghanistan in many ways, it has seldom reciprocated to the good gesture. By providing trade facilities through Karachi sea-port Pakistan has set an example of cooperation and good will to a land-locked country, but the policies of the Government of Afghanistan have continued to remain hostile. An unnecessary issue of Pakhtoonistan raised at the instance of India at the time of the establishment of Pakistan formed the basis of its strained relations with Pakistan. Things have remained static all these times. A generous and magnanimous gesture of good-will on the part of one obstinacy and ingratitude on the part of the other. However it has been only recently that a breakthrough in the strained relations has been made possible. Now it is hoped that things would find their own normal course and the Afghan Government would see reason in its relation with a brotherly Muslim state.

The secularists and the communists have been the cause of many disarrays in Pakistan. In fact they have not been able to reconcile with the idea of constituting a state on the basis of Islamic ideology.

9. Infra.

They have, therefore, been foamenting trouble in the country on one pretext or the other, and have thus been endangering its very existence. Pakistan stood for one ideology, and it can sustain only with putting that ideology into practice. Either setting it aside to conform with the western or socialistic norms or introducing innoation to legalize and sanctify some of the old colonial practices would only contribute to the instability of the state. Pakistan has been unfortunate in this respect. The death of the Quaid-i-Azam made a heavy dent in the national political organization. Many of the leaders so far associated with the Muslim League started preaching regionalism. To what ethics of political philosophy they were committed could not be ascertained, but one thing was clear that they were committed to gain power for themselves. The forces of disintegration did not show up until the assassination of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan who served the country as its first Prime Minister, but his assassination made the regionalists play their game. Khwaja Nazimuddin was elected the party leader in the National Assembly to succeed him. He tried his best to hold the country intact, but the tendency of regionalism gained momentum and when the first shot was fired in the Bengla language movement the sapling of disintegration had been planted. The situation got further aggravated when Ghulam Muhammad Malik, the then Governor General, who happened to be a representative of the old Indian bureaucracy, dismissed the Nazimuddin government, conditions in the country took a serious turn. Democracy was sacrificed at the altar of bureaucracy inherited from the colonial past. The breach thus caused could not be repaired. It ultimately resulted in the imposition of martial law, and then again martial law and the people are still striving for their fundamental rights.

Yet another difficult situation which caused a great setback to Pakistan was created in East Pakistan (now Bengla Desh). As has been stated above the seeds of dissensions were sowed way back in the early fifties. There were several reasons for that. Some of them might have been genuine, but most of them were born of a deep sense of deprivation and the feeling that they had hardly any share in making the policies and running the administration. This type of insinuation was further deepened by the Hindus of East Pakistan

who had always had a dual role to play and who had been intriguing against Pakistan and strengthening the Hindu leadership in India in its design to destroy Pakistan. The propaganda literature in Bengla produced and published in Calcutta usually narrated unusual stories about East Pakistan and hatred against the trained non-Bengali manpower working in almost every sphere of life in East Pakistan. They were dubbed as the dominating and colonizing forces from West Pakistan. It did not take long when the young minds in the colleges and universities were corrupted. This hatred campaign against West Pakistan, particularly against the Punjab was carried on systematically. Since there was no strong national organization and movement that could muster popular support to counter the propaganda most of the wrong and fabricated statements were accepted as gospel truths. The provincial elections in 1953 dislodged the Muslim League that had worked for the creation of Pakistan. The regionalism triumphed over the larger national interests. This helped crop up local organizations in the name of regional language and culture and each of the regional organizations was indulging in petty small things and many a time undermining the national interest.

Things did not look so ugly in the beginning and so long the elderly politicians had their intellectual hold on the majority of the masses the insurgent spirit was kept dormant, but the continuance of the military rule for a long time created more problems than it had been able to resolve. The young people were made to believe that West Pakistan was thriving at the cost of East Pakistan, while they themselves were thrown in abject poverty. The usual wrong statistics were provided to make them feel rather proudly that the moment East Pakistan would secede West Pakistan would collapse economically.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his close associates were working in collaboration with the Indian planners to declare East Pakistan independent under the cover of an Indian canopy. But the Agartalla Conspiracy case was unearthed at the same time and the leaders of the conspiracy were arrested and were being tried for treason, when a political turmoil swept the country. A nation wide agitation was organized against the military dictatorship. Whereas the political

tempo in East Pakistan was high, conditions in West Pakistan were equally unstable. The government entered into negotiation with the leaders of the opposition and held a series of discussions in a round table conference. Sheikh Mujib was freed to attend the conference. But the outcome of the negotiation had reversed the expectations. President Ayub decided to quit the government, but as there was no alternative he handed over power to the commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

The assumption of power by General Yahya Khan and his wrong policies hastened the process of disintegration. Elections were held in a tense atmosphere. In the name of provincial autonomy Sheikh Mujib, with the backing of his Hindu collaborators and the Indian supporters, emerged victorious in East Pakistan with his six point programme which aimed at curtailing the powers of the central government to the minimum. So sentimental was his appeal that the people had hardly any time to analyse the situation rationally. The political tornado which he blew put aside the ideological fabric of the nation and he propounded his own philosophy based on regional, parochial and linguistic considerations.

In West Pakistan as well the democratic process was equally hampered. The basic democracy system introduced under the cover of 1961 constitution and the policy of character demolition of the politicians might have sounded as a good device for the perpetuation of power, but it had undoubtedly set the clock back. The democratic process started during the Pakistan movement was vitiated for small local or in many cases purely individual gains. When the second martial law was imposed, people were in no mood to honour and respect it. So fluid were the conditions at that time that they might take any form. The situation remained to continue tense and exasperating. The elections held under the new military regime did not help any of the national political organizations to make any significant win. The voters were probably attracted by the local and parochial appeals. It appeared the N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan would have a different shade and colour, while the Punjab and Sind would have a different texture. All the parties that made substantial gains in the elections in a way could not be considered as national organizations. If the Awami League of Sheikh Mujib was not interested in putting up candidates in West Pakistan the Peoples Party remained equally unconcerned with East Pakistan. The out come of this

deliberate or unconscions division was disastrous. The majority party in West Pakistan could not claim to represent the will of East Pakistan nor did the single majority party elected from East Pakistan on the basis of one man one vote, have any support in West Pakistan. The ambition for power and control made the things look ugly and had lent support to line up against each other. All this happened because of the fact that the old national political organisation had lost its contact with the masses and the ideological fabric was allowed to have been broken. Had not these two factors been intercepted to play their role there was hardly any likelihood of a political stalemate that resulted in the dismemberment of the country.

Following the elections, as the leader of the single majority party he refused to accommodate the view point of the other people. As a result of this obduracy political stalemate was bound to occur. He wanted to impose his will on the whole nation. Come what may he was hard, rigid and instrumental in the hands of his string holders. His stubborn attitude around violence had caused a further deterioration in the situation ; but when it appeared that his Indian backed scheme might be frustrated they started killing the innocent non-Bengali Muslims who were either the employees of the Central or Provincial government or the refugees from India, who formed the educated manpower in East Pakistan.

A state of lawlessness prevailed. The orders of the Government of Pakistan were either ignored or openly flouted. This resulted in the military action that swept off the insurgents and the mercenaries and saved the innocent lives who were being brutally murdered. Sheikh Mujib was arrested and the law and order was restored. The military action had undoubtedly achieved some temporary gains, but it finally gave a whip in the hands of Indian leadership. The Indian Prime Minister, the Indian press in complete collaboration with the British press started a villifying campaign against the Government of Pakistan. The propaganda was so well planned that Pakistan was accused of genocide, and inhuman treatment of the Bangalees. Mrs. Indira Gahndi made a whirlwind tour of the world capitals and made a mountain out of a mole. She appeared to have been running from pole to pole to awaken the world conscience to save the Bangalees from the tyranny of Pakistan. She gave exaggerated

figures about millions of people crossing over to India to find shelter and refuge. This she claimed was a threat to the security of India.

The world opinion went against Pakistan. It seemed there was no friend left to find out the correct position. It was completely isolated. Since there was no political government in Pakistan the military junta failed to counter the propaganda launched by the Indian government and its supporters. The appointment of a civil governor in East Pakistan and the grant of general amesty did not help improve the situation. The heat was generating within and when the conspirators were made free to launch their own programme, they received direct support from India and once again created a law and order situation.

The conspirators were then waiting for an exact time to hit. When conditions in East Pakistan got worsened and the Indian government had secured the solid backing of its allies including some of the big powers, it invaded East Pakistan. Our gallant forces stationed there defended the frontiers, but since no reinforcement could possibly be made from West Pakistan because of a thousand mile hostile territory and the inside subversion the forces had to fight a losing battle. They neither had the necessary air cover nor did they have any support from the sea. They were land locked and beseiged and ultimately had no alternative but to succumb to the invaders in defence of the sacred trust reposed in them. The saddish hour in our history came when General Yahya Khan ordered them to surrender to the forces of aggression. The curtain was thus drawn and East Pakistan became Bangladesh under the supreme authority of the Indian government.

After having ruined the country the military government had no alternative but to make way to the representatives of the people to take over the administration. New government had a difficult duty to perform. Deprived of the half segment of the country and the Indian forces occupying a large territory in West Pakistan, while ninety thousand soliders were kept as Prisoners of War in India, the task appeared to have been unsurmountable. But the Government of Pakistan had been able to secure back its territory in West Pakistan and made the safe release of the Prisoners of War without any con-

ditions. During these years of difficulty the Peoples Republic of China and a few other brotherly nations gave moral and material support to Pakistan.

Pakistan today stands in a much happy position in the comity of nations. It is an active member of the Islamic Conference which stand for the sovereignty of God on earth, equality to mankind and a judicious world economic order. Things have also considerably changed in Bangladesh. Sheikh Mujib and the members of his family were brutally murdered in a military coup and after three days the dead body of the "Bangla-Bundho" was queitly buried in his home village : no funeral and no lametation. His execution was largely due to his pro-Indian secular dictatorship which he tried to establish in Bangladesh. The people found themselves in a mirage. The Indian exploitation and the tyrannical rule of Sheikh Mujib forced them to take such a drastic action.

The new administration of Bangladesh desires to forget the past and develop healthy relations with Pakistan in almost every field. Friendly ties are being fostered and trade relations are being established. Islam has once again come to the rescue of the Muslims of Bangladesh, who now fully realize that it was a false propaganda that West Pakistan was thriving on East Pakistan. It was rather the other way round. Pakistan had not only sustained the shocks of its shattered economy, but it had built it up and showed to the world that it could stand on its own and could help Bengladesh as it had been doing in the past to build it up. What brought them together within a short span of time ? These are the ideological ties which united them to strive for Pakistan and it may be safely believed that these ties would further strengthen the relation and Pakistan would be prepared to go to the extent the people of Bangladesh would desire to go.

The debacle to East Pakistan clearly shows that regionalism may serve the vested interest for a short time, but falls short of people's aspirations. It can serve the purpose of the enemies of the country, but cannot resolve any of its problems. The part cut off from the whole can hardly sustain for a long time. Although the element, advocating regionalism in Pakistan has now been eliminated to a large extent, this tendency has not been completely wiped off. Occasional

shots are being fired here and there. This needs to be done away with, because the country needs cohesion, unity, integrity, feeling of oneness and the maximum utilization of its human and material resources for the collective development of the nation. Neither part of the country can hope for its development and survival in isolation and in utter disregard of the others. A built in system that accommodates all, without any prejudice to language, place of birth, ancestory and regional location would be able to forge out a united whole. The maxim that there is no substitute to merit always holds good Pakistan would thrive only when the manpower resources are tapped, trained and judiciously utilized in the service of the nation. There is no other short and sure cut. Neither should it be generally applied for the largest interest of the people. Let not a bad workman quarrel with his tools.

This national cohesion can be achieved only if the people of Pakistan firmly hold up to the basic ideology which once made them a formidable force under the leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam. The constitution of Pakistan declares Islam as the religion of the country and makes sufficient provisions and guarantees for the development of Islamic principles of life. Islam cuts across all parochial barriers and puts all the Muslims on equal footing. He is free to develop himself to the best of his abilities and accordingly makes his contribution to the society. Islam as a living force provides more common cultural elements amongst its followers than any other system in the world. From cradle to the grave the life of an individual Muslim is regulated by the laws laid down in the Quran. This helps from a common culture with common destiny. It is gratifying to note that the people of Pakistan are wholly committed to the Islamic way of life. Islam played a significant role in the struggle for the creation of Pakistan and is destined to play a still greater role in keeping the nation united in its struggle to establish a social and economic order based on the Islamic principles of justice and universal brotherhood, wherein no man can exploit the other.

LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

Pakistan is a multilingual country where more than one languages are spoken. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan declares Urdu as the national language and guarantees the promotion and development of the regional languages.

Among a score of regional languages in different parts of the country Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Baluchi, Brohi, and Gujrati are most important. Saraiki and Hindku are the dialectcial variations of the Punjabi which are being spoken by a fairly large number of people. All the languages belong to the Indo-European or Iranian family of languages and have considerable number of common words and expressions and can further contribute to their mutual development. In the course of time these languages were mainly influenced by the Arabic, Persian, Turkish and English.[1]

Urdu : Urdu belongs to the family of the Indo-European languages and owes its origin to the languages spoken in the Northern and Western India. It has gradually absorbed a large vocabulary from Arabic, Persian, and labely from English. It differs from its rival Hindi, now the official language of India, in vocabulary, form and style, because it takes inspiration from the living classicial and modern languages, whereas Hindi largely borrows its vocabulary from Sanskirit which is a dead classicial language.

1. Farman Fatehpuri, *Zaban—Our Urdu Zaban*, pp. 111, 112 ; 1973.

The advent of the British rule installed English as the language of administration, but realizing the importance of Urdu as the language of mass communication, the British administration in the begnning took some interest in the development of the language. The Fort William College, near Calcutta, gave a new look and form to the Urdu prose, and John Gilchrist wrote its first formal grammar. But as soon as the British Colonial grip grew tight it played with the Hindu sentiments to raise the claim of Hindi written in the Deonagri script against Urdu. The policy was cleverly carried to the point where it was identified with the revival and growth of the Hindu culture ; and thus whatever official support it received in the beginning was hence forward withdrawn.[2]

But in spite of this set-back Urdu flourished as one of the most important modern languages without any official patronage. Both the Hindus and the Muslims had owned and developed it, but when the Hindu warlike tendencies increased and started demolishing all the symbol of unity developed before the advent of the British rule, Urdu suffered the harshest propaganda of the Hindu press. But it survived and served the cause of Muslim revivalism faithfully, the role it deserved and the role it successfully played.[3]

In the present day Pakistan Urdu has a two fold function to perform. It has to provide for the cultural, educational and intellectual needs of a technologically oriented developing society ; and has to forge the unity of purpose among the various sections of the society as a language of communication, coordination and administration. The Government of Pakistan is now contemplating to take practical steps to make it a forceful medium of national integration and this task can well be performed by a language which is a byeproduct of mutual contracts and understandings.[4]

Punjabi : As its name denotes Punjabi is the language spoken by the people living in the province of the Punjab, but it has frontiers beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the Punjab. A great many people in Azad Kashmir and the N. W. F. P. use Punjabi as the

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2. Farman Fatehpuri "*Hindi-Urdu Tanaza*", pp. 17—60, Karachi, 1977. (ہندی اردو تنازع)
3. *Ibid.*
4. Farman Fatehpuri "*Zaban—Our Urdu Zaban*" pp. 97—108.

vehicle of common expression. Hence it covers a substantially large population. Punjabi is credited to have a sufficiently good literature, but for countries Urdu has been employed as the language of culture, education and commercial and daily correspondence, its use is confined to daily communication music and folklore. It is only recently that efforts are being made to develop the language.

Saraiki, Hindko, Dhani and Pothwari dialects are variations of the Punjabi language and are not basically different. Saraiki is spoken mainly in the southern Punjab, whereas Pothwari in the north-western districts of the Punjab and Azad Kashmir and Dhani around Chakwal and the oil rich Balkasar. Hindko covers the area lying west of the river Indus in the Peshawar, Hazara and D. I. Khan divisions of the N. W. F. P.

Sindhi : Sindhi is an old language and is commonly used in Sind. It can be divided into four branches, viz., (1) Wacholi (2) Saraiki (3) Tharali and Kachchi.

The language spoken in Sind proper is Wacholi and this is the modern Sindhi. When the Muslims settled down in the eighth century there were two languages which were normally used. One was the Arabic, the language of administration and second was Sindhi, the language spoken by the masses. The business community at Mansurah conducted their business in both these languages until the whole of India came under the Persian speaking Turks and the Persian language and literature started exerting its influence on the local languages and dialects.

The modern Sindhi has thus been influenced by Arabic and Persian and has absorbed many Arabic and Persian words to suit its form and make up, sometimes in their original form and sometimes in the form given by the local speakers. It is used as the language of culture, education and administration in Sind along with Urdu and English.

Pushto : Pushto is another important language which is spoken in the trans-Indus region, in the tribal belt of the N. W. F. P. and in the northern districts of Baluchistan. Pushto claims to be an old language nourished by the warlike Pathans inhabiting the long mountain belt from Hindukush to Kirthar. The use of Pushto is also limited to speech and music, whereas Urdu is employed as the language of culture and intellectual refinement. The Pushto Academy

is now seriously engaged in the development and promotion of the language.

In addition to these four large linguistic groups there are many other languages which are spoken in a wide area. Baluchi, Makrani, Brohi, Kohistani, Kashmiri and Kafri may be cited as examples.

EDUCATION

Education has always remained the chief concern of the state. Several Commissions and Committees have been set up to suggest necessary reforms. These efforts started immediately after the establishment of Pakistan. In his message to the first educational conference the Quaid-e-Azam, said "we should try by sound education to instil the highest sense of honour, integrity, responsibility and selfless service to the nation". Efforts were made at different stages to promote the cause of education in Pakistan. The Six Year National Plan of Education, 1950-56 which was an ambitious scheme of educational regeneration was followed by similar bold efforts in the following years. It has been repeatedly said in various policy statements that the objective of education as inspired by Islam was to produce better equipped individuals to meet the challenge of modern technological development.[5]

In 1955 the educational planning was integrated with the total national planning, but separate policy statements were occasionally issued to set guidelines for improvement. Along with different five years plans of development there appeared the Report of the Commission on National Education, 1959, Proposal for a New Educational policy, 1969, and the Education policy, 1972-80. The Education policy 1972-80 was launched in 1972.[6]

The chief purpose of education according to the new policy was :[7]

1. to ensure the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan and make it a code of individual and national life.

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5. Aziz, M.A., The *Educational Pyramid Reinverted*, Publishers United, Lahore, 1965.
6. *Ibid.*
7. The *Educational Policy*, 1972-80.

2. to build up national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with our basic ideology through the conscious use of the educational process.
3. to build up the total personality of an individual.
4. to mobilize the youth for leadership role.
5. to eradicate illiteracy within the shortest possible time.
6. to equalize access to education for women under privileged groups.
7. to design curricula relevant to the nations changing social and economic needs and provide a massive stuff from general education to agro-technical education.
8. to provide the integrated general and technical education.
9. to provide academic freedom and autonomy.
10. to insure active participation of teachers, students, parents and country.
11. to promote the welfare, dignity any sense of responsibility of teachers and students.

Pakistan inherited an inverted educational pyramid. Emphasis was laid on higher education and the primary and secondary education was subordinated to the requirements of university education, if not completely ignored. This was a great challenge to the policy makers of education in Pakistan. How to create a logical balance in education ? The task was difficult, but with courage, determination and sincerity of purpose the problem is being revolved.[8]

Primary Education : The aims of the English policy of education in India prior to the establishment of Pakistan was to produce English knowing clerks to urn the Indian administration at a lower cost. The emphasis was, therefore, laid on university education without making primary education a sound base for other stages of education. Primary education was almost ignored until the report of the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1944. The report which is commonly known as the Sargent Report give the encouragement to primary education.[9]

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8. **Aziz, M.A.,** *Educational Pyramid, op. cit.*
9. **Aziz, M.A.,** *op. cit.*

In Pakistan efforts were made to encourage the development of primary education by providing qualified teachers, good buildings and modern equipments. The budget allocation for the promotion and development of primary education increased in due course of time. In the report of the Commission on National Education, 1959 the objectives of primary education were defined as follows :[10]

1. to make a child functionally literate.
2. to develop moral, physical and mental aspects of a child's personality.
3. to equip him with the basic knowledge and skills and prepare him for further education.
4. to assess a scheme of civic responsibility, love for his country and willingness to contribute to its development.
5. To develop the habits of industry, integrity and curiosty, and
6. to awaken a liking for physical activity and sports and games.

Primary education was thus re-organized, re-structured and rebuilt. The curricula was revised and new books were prepared for the students. This process is being continued. In 1972 a further step was taken in the field of primary education. One aim was to achieve universal and free primary education. In this respect the Government had assumed a role of leadership and nationalized all the schools under private management. It is planned that elementary education will be universal upto class VIII for boys by 1982 and for girls by 1987.[11]

A detailed programme has been prepared to make the rising needs of primary schools to make the facilities equal. Since the quantitative and qualitative development of education at all levels is now the responsibility of the Government any short fall in the targets is not ordinarily expected. The Working Papers for the Development Perspective (1975-80) shows an estimated expenditure

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10. Report of the Commission on National Education, 1959, pp. 169-94. See editorial *Talim-o-Tadrees*, Vol. 1 No. 2 Lahore, January, 1968.
11. The Educational Policy, Government of Pakistan, 1972-80, pp. 5-7.

of Rs. 6,02,00,00,000.00 on primary education.[12]

Secondary Education : The state of secondary education during the British period was no better than the primary education. It only served the needs of the university education The reorganization of secondary education started in 1947 and several measures were adopted to improve it. In 1959 the Commission on National Education outlined the following objectives of secondary education :[13]

1. to recognise secondary education as a complete stage in itself and to organize it as a separate acadamic and administrative unit.
2. To cater for pupils who will enter a variety of careers.
3. to create a spirit of national cohesion.
4. to direct teaching to character building.
5. to redifine curriculum,
6. to develop the individual as a citizen, patriot and worker.

During the following years some developments in the field of secondary education was made, but it had yet to have a broadly based programme of studies destined to fulfil the needs of the majority of the students.

In 1972 the Government initiated New-Education Policy, 1972-80. In the new policy statement secondary education has been given its due place and a major shift has been made towards science and technology. It was emphasised that the students at this stage of education should be exposed to the study of electronics, auto-electricity, plumbering, house-hold electrical appliances, dairy farming, poultry farming, vegetable farming, servi-cultures crop and live stock products, short hand, typewriting, insurance and estate broking, clearing forwarding and shipping practice, home management, cooking and baking, first aid and home nursing, food procure and preservation and many other areas that would lead to some gainful employment.[14]

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12. Working Papers for the Development Perspective (1975-80). Government of Pakistan, p. 346.
13. Report of the Commission on National Education, *op. cit.* pp. 111-85.
14. The New Educational Policy, 1972-80, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18, *Development of Education in Pakistan* 1973-75, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, pp. 54-56

University Education : The shift to science and technology and the provision for agro-technical education are definite steps for improvement. Pakistan is basically an agricultural country, but it is being ambitiously industrialized. A good programme of agricultural and technical education is, therefore, essential for a healthy economic development of the country. Happily the new education policy is based on these two factors and when fully implemented will provide the necessary momentum for development.

Modern education in this country started with the establishment of three universities at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras under the policy contained in the Wood Despatch, 1854. Since then the development of higher education remained the chief concern of the state. It was, however, presumed that reforms at higher stages of education would automatically reforms the lower stages of education. But this pious hope was never translated into practice. Reforms did not mechanically filter down.[15]

The official support for the promotion and development of higher education was available in the country, but since the publication of the report of the Indian Universities Commission 1902, it was generally argued that the Indian universities were not maintaining comparable standard with the good universities of the world. Although some bold steps were taken in the subsequent years to remove these defects, there appears to have been little change in the academic standard of our universities.[16]

The Commission on National Education, 1959 laid down the following principles for the promotion and enrichment of higher education.[17]

1. to recongnize high school education as a distinct stage and the present intermediate stage to be transferred to the Boards.
2. to admit students for higher study after they have completed their intermediate stage.

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15. Aziz, M.A., Ed. Pyramid, *op. cit.*, Int.
    Aziz, M.A., *The Development and Reconstruction of University Education in Pakistan.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Report of the Commission on National Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-61.

3. to improve and revise the courses and curricula.
4. to assess the students ability and not his memory.
5. to establish a committee of Advanced studies to promote teaching and research.
6. to enable the teachers to discharge their duties properly.
7. to organize programmes of counselling and guidance for the students.
8. to provide spacious and good libraries and laboratories.
9. to coordinate the programmes of universities and colleges.

It was expected that under the new scheme higher education would improve, but there has been still much to be desired. However, the New Educational Policy, 1972-80 is said to have infused a new life and provided the necessary momentum. The new scheme includes the development of old and new universities and the establishment of a University Grants Commission to coordinate their activities. The new scheme also proposes the creation of centres of excellence at various universities, but on the whole there would be a major shift from arts to science and technology.[18]

Many of these hopes have been fully met. There were only seven universities in this part of the country, when East Pakistan fell. But at present there are as many as fourteen universities functioning in various parts of the country and in due course of time many more are expected to come up. A People's Open University has been established at Islamabad to provide instruction and guidance through correspondences.[19]

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

In the modern technological world specialized professional education has acquired significant place. There are many professions that require training in the specialized areas before an individual is allowed to take up the profession. Medicine, engineering and agro-technical branches of study are only a few examples. In Pakistan training facilities in the specialized fields of medicine, engineering and law are available.

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18. The New Education Policy, 1972-80, op. cit. pp. 13-15.
19. *Ibid.*

Medical Science : The science that deals with human ailments and their cure is called medical science. The pursuit of this science has been fairly well established among the Muslims for centuries. The modern medical science is being taught at various medical colleges in the country. The students enrolled for medical profession spend five years in a medical college beyond their intermediate education before they made professionally eligible to practice medicine and surgery.[20]

At present there is a great pressure on medical education and, therefore, the colleges are overcrowded. The Government is keen to develop the facilities for medical education, but sometimes the limited resourses of the country block the progress. In 1971 there were only six medical colleges functioning in this part of the country, but at present there are 14 colleges functioning from Khyber to Karachi. It is hoped that medical education would improve in due course of time, and when an adequate number of medical graduates are produced the health service in the country would improve.[21]

The medical profession is handicapped by the shortage of well educated medical technicians. Arrangements have now been made for the training of technicians in almost all medical centres. The intelligent and hard working young men have a great opening in the medical profession. In whatever capacity they join the profession they would be serving the nation and mankind.[22]

Engineering Education : Pakistan is a developing country and is yet in the process of development. It needs engineers and technicians who possess "vision and leadership" to contribute to the development of the country. The railway, shipyard, steel mills, industries and other enterprises require the services of engineers and skilled and semi-skilled technicians. As a matter of fact all the fields of human activity need their services. Their assistance helps raise the level of production to earn foreign exchange and make the country prosperous.[23]

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20. Report of the Commission on National Edu., op. cit. pp. 103-110, Five Year Plan.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, 23. *Ibid.* pp. 63—67.

Any developing country for long cannot depend on foreign advisers and technicians. It needs to develop its own talent to handle its development projects and the drive for speedy industrialization. Pakistan, as such, needs an adequate number of engineers for its established industries and for its new projects proposed in the new national development programme.

Education in engineering is spread over a period of four years beyond grade XII (Inter-mediate Pre-engineering group). At present there are six engineering colleges and one engineering university. It is expected that the two Engineering Colleges in Sind shall be raised to the status of a university. The Government of the Punjab has a scheme of opening four other engineering colleges in various areas of the province.

As a developing country Pakistan faces a shortage of engineers and skilled technicians. Efforts are being made to fill this gap, but there is such a wide gap in supply and demand that the situation is expected to improve only gradually. Along with the colleges and universities to train higher technologists, the polytechnics train technicians for the developing industries of the country. Some of these polytechnics are being raised to the status of technical colleges to produce men of high calibre.[24]

Legal Education : Legal education aims at producing men of competence and character, capable of administering justice, developing and maintaining responsible Government and contributing to the world of learning in law. In Pakistan considerable stress is laid on legal education, because the lawyers not only help in administering justice but they also influence the process of building a responsible Government.[25]

There are several institutions that provide education in law. Some of these institutions are being maintained by universities, while the others are being looked after by the provincial departments of education. The legal profession is one of the highly respectable professions in the country. The Quaid-e-Azam and many other prominent leaders of the public life practised law as their profession.[26]

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24. Report of the Commission on National Edu., *op. cit.* pp. 63-77.
25. *Ibid., op. cit.* pp. 87-92.
26. *Ibid.*

Adult Education : The people of the country are its greatest assets. If they are educated, healthy and productive, they would contribute to the progress and prosperity of the country. But if they are un-educated, unhealthy and unproductive they would add to the misery of the country. Unfortunately Pakistan belongs to that group of countries which has quite large number of illiterate people. At present, it is estimated that 4,00,00,000 of the total population is unlettered and every year 10,00,000 illiterates are added to the existing illiterate population. These figures show that there is a collosal loss of our manpower which could have been otherwise made productive. The modern technological development demands the training of comparatively knowledgeable workers, which at present we are unable to produce.[27]

During the last 30 years numerous campaigns were made to eradicate illiteracy through an organized adult literacy programme. But these efforts failed for one reason or the other. The New Education Policy, 1972-80 has particularly stressed on an adult literacy programme. Although it is sufficiently clear that the ultimate remedy to this ill is universal and compulsory elementry education, it is maintained that the teeming millions of illiterates should not be thrown to suffer. A massive literacy programme has, therefore, been launched through mass media in every town and village. It is hoped that "traditional approaches in class rooms and work shops", and a good use of the modern educational technique would be employed for the eradication of illiteracy and for providing opportunities for continuing education. By 1980 the Government intends to establish 2,76,000 literacy centres for 1,10,00,000 adult illiterates.[28]

The Government has already initiated the scheme and has employed the Pakistan television to create a lively atmosphere for millions to learn at the same time. The present series of literacy lessons on the television are only the beginning of more use of mass media. It is expected that in the near future trained teachers, members of the National Literacy Corp, selected farmers, craftsmen and other suitable

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27. C.N.E., op. cit., pp. 195-502 Ed. Pol. 1972-80, op. cit., pp. 21-22.
28. Ed. Pol. op. cit., pp. 21-22.

workers would be brought forth to have a vigorous campaign against illiteracy.[29]

Necessary arrangements are also being made for continuing or further education. In the beginning stress would be laid on factory workers, and out of school adolescents, but gradually it will cover all categories of people who need a programme of continuing education. A People's Open University has been established at Islamabad "to provide educational facilities through correspondence courses." When the Adult Literacy Programme is fully implemented, it will bring in revolutionary changes in our social and economic life.[30]

Madrissa Education : There are several *maktabs* (مکتب), madrissas and Darul Ulooms established in various parts of the country. As a matter of fact they are a continuation of the traditional system of education, with restricted aims of teaching Islamic studies. But the programmes of these institutions are not confined to the teaching of Islamic studies alone. They provide instruction in most of the traditional secular subjects. Logic, philosophy, mathematics and medicine are also included in the syllabus, but with little variation of what they were a few centuries back.

Since Pakistan is an ideological state, secular and non-secular studies need to be so integrated that a modern Pakistan that keeps up its values along with technological development, ensures a progressive and healthy future. These madrissas contribute to the literacy programme of the country, and if developed to meet the challenge of time they would supplement the efforts of the Government to spread literacy.

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29. Ed. Policy 1972-80, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22. 30. *Ibid.*

PAKISTAN IN THE COMITY OF NATIONS

Pakistan occupies a territory on the South of the western Himalayas, which is surrounded by India, China, Russia, Afghanistan almost in a semi-circle. But as a young country it has been able to establish good relations with all the countries of the world except India and Afghanistan which have always remained hostile. The relationship with China is most cordial and helpful and has stood the test of time. China is indeed a friend in war and peace.

Immediately after its establishment in 1947 Pakistan became a full member of the United Nations. As a new member it has taken upon itself the responsible role it has to play in the comity of Nations. It has been contributing its share to ensuring and establishing peace and stability in the otherwise disturbed regions of the world. It has upheld the cause of the oppressed nations under the colonial rule by involving the world conscience to strike off the tracks of discrimination and military and economic domination. Although it is not easy to keep up with the international diplomatic swingings, Pakistan has been successfully handling the complicated political and military issues in spite of the U.N. indifference to the Kashmir problem and Indian invasion of East Pakistan. It is now striving hard to persuade the world opinion to remove the disparity existing between the rich and the poor and to help establish a just social and economic order.

Muslim Countries : Located as it is on the map of the world Pakistan is an extended wing of the Middle East. It is linked with the Middle Eastern countries, Africa and the central Asian Turkish Republics of the USSR by common religious, social and historical heritage. It is, therefore, natural, that Pakistan is earnestly developing ties of friendship and cooperation with them. The second Islamic summit conference held at Lahore in February, 1974 has clearly demonstrated that Pakistan and other Muslim countries from the Atlantic to the Pacific have for each other more than a mere expression of good will. There are openings for mutual contacts and benefits in all fields of social and economic life, specially in education, commerce and industry and they are being zealously preserved.

The Islamic summit conference held at Lahore on February 22 to February 24, 1974 was attended by thirty-nine Muslim countries. It is hoped that many more would join the nxet conference. It was great honour to Pakistan that the summit was held at the historic city of Lahore which still retains into Indo-Muslim culture. Its historic buildings and the green suburbs added lustre to the conference. The great Juma congregation in the Badshahi Masjid will always be remembered as a token of unity and one-ness, when scores of the heads of the Muslim states bowed together to Almighty-Allah to ask for strength and ability to serve the cause of Islam and the Muslims through out the world. Never before in the muslim history so large a number of the heads of the muslim states offered their prayer together.

The conference held its deliberations for three days and in the concluding session unanimously decided.

1. To free Jerusalem (یروشلم) the Muslim will take a united stand.
2. to establish special fund for the propagation of Islam.
3. to preserve and promote the cooperation and fraternal relationship.
4. to establish an Islamic bank to promote the economic development of the Muslim countries.

The foreign ministers of the countries representing the Islamic conference meet periodically to review the situation and discuss any new problem. Accordingly they endorsed the decision and pursued further the establishment of the Islamic Bank and the Islamic News Agency. The schemes went through several stages of planning and scrutiny. But it is encouraging to note that the Islamic Bank with its head quarters at Jeddah has started functioning. It is hoped that the capital provided by the member countries, specially the Arab Oil exporting countries would increase the economic activities in the less developed areas of the Muslim world. The Bank would thus fill the wide gap between the capital and the rising needs of the member countries.

The scheme of the Islamic News Agency has yet to be implemented. The western controlled news agencies which basically provide news to the world newspapers and other agencies of mass-media are either controlled by Jews or they are at least Jew-inspired. When the Islamic News Agency starts functioning the propaganda campaign sponsored by the foreign news agencies for their own specific purpose would be countered. When correct news from the real sources would start transmitting into the Islamic countries the existing good will and amity would increase.

The Islamic summit conference held at Lahore proved a turning point in the history of modern times. The change in thinking which has followed the Islamic summit conference has brought the muslim countries and the countries of the third world to some sort of understanding. It is hoped that within a short span of time these small nations would be in a position to throw off the military and economic control of the big powers. The special session of the U.N. General Assembly held in April 1974 on the energy crisis has shown beyond any doubt that these small countries which were being played up against each other, are shaking the hold of the big powers and, of course, much to their dislike.

R.C.D. : Pakistan is linked with Iran and Turkey through the Regional Cooperation Development (R. C. D.) which has helped

the participants to harness their resources for mutual benefit and for fostering close brotherly relations. Many bodies for economic coordination and developing communication, trade and industry are functioning under the guidance of the R.C.D. secretariat. Work on such projects as the R. C. D. high way and the railway linking Karachi, Tehran and Ankara are well underway and are expected to have implemented by 1980.

These contacts are fast developing into close partnership. The volume of exchange of commodities in trade, the movement of trained manpower, the joint industrial projects in hand and in the planning stage clearly show the amount of good will that exists. When the Islamic News Agency starts functioning in the near future these relationship would be further strengthened ; and the day is not far off when the Islamic millat would emerge as a big moral, economic, political and military power.

PALESTINE

Pakistan has always remained concerned with Palestine. During the Khilafat movement the Muslims of the sub-continent expressed their sentiments against the dismemberment of the Turkish empire and the British mandate over Palestine. They made sacrifices to help their Arab brothern, and when Great Britain started settling down the European Jews in Palestine the Muslims of this region joined the Palestinian Muslims in their protest against the British scheme. But since in its imperial design the British Government was committed to create a homeland for the Jews in Palestine, no heed was given to justice and fairplay.[1]

In the United Nations the United States, the Western countries and the USSR collaborated with each other to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. The United Nations General Assembly passed the resolution to divide the country and the countery was forth with divided. At the time of the partition the Jewish sector had 4,98,000 Jews and 4,35,000 Arabs. But the Jews were fully armed and

1. Hasan, S. Pakistan and the United Nations, New York, 1960, pp. 165-67.

as soon as the United Nations announced the creation of Israel the Jews took up the arms, killed the Muslims indiscriminately and drove them out of their home. The combined Arab forces were defeated and Israel grabbed more of the Arab land. Pakistan fought the political battle of Palestine inside the United Nations and appealed to the world conscience to see reason, because the existence of Israel could neither be supported logically nor morally. But the U. S. vetoes in favour of Israel in the Security Council and the billions of dollars of economic and military assistance has made Israel a menacing power in the heart of the Muslim Middle East.[2]

Since then many dreadful battles were fought in which Israel occupied more Arab territories. But the most spectacular battle was fought in 1973 in which the Egyptian forces over-ran the Barley line. This shocked Israel and its western patrons. But then the Americans secretly collaborated with Israel and helped its forces to cross the Suez canal. When Israel was placed in a comfortable position the big powers intervened to halt the fighting. Following the cessation of hostilities negotiations to execute a peace treaty are still going on. Israel is not prepared to recognize the Palestinian right to return to their homes, and in spite of the UN resolution to withdraw from the Arab occupied territory, it has so far defied the world organization. Pakistan has been very active inside and outside the United Nations to help the Palestinians re-build their future destiny.

The Palestinian resistance movement at its initial stages was not well-planned and coordinated. But now it has emerged as a disciplined organization to win back the rights of its people. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) is fighting this battle both on the diplomatic and military fronts. It has achieved a singular victory when the PLO leader Yasser Arafat was invited to address the UN General Assembly. It was through the diplomatic moves of Palestinians, the Arab countries and the countries of the third world that the United Nations has recognised the existence of the Palestinians. Recently a debate on Palestine was held in the Security Council in

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2. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-85.

which a PLO representative also participated. The United States vetoed the resolution sponsored by thirteen nations including Pakistan. But the PLO gained politically from the debate. The American backing had made Israel blind to see any reason, but as the things are moving on, it is hoped that the people of Palestine will ultimately get the reward of their sacrifices.

Pakistan championed the cause of Palestine in the United Nations. Pakistan does not recognize Israel and ever since its creation has been constantly fighting for the rights of the Palestinians. Pakistan had extended every possible help to the fighting Arab forces in 1973 and recently when the Palestinian camps in the Lebanon have been barricaded Pakistan sent medical supplies to the war victims and demonstrated in all possible manner that in the time of need Pakistan would stand by them.

In the second Islamic Summit conference held at Lahore the cause of Palestine was upheld. The PLO Leader Yasser Arafat who came to attend the conference was accorded a diplomatic treatment, and when he visited the Badshahi Masjid to offer his Juma Prayer he was given a rousing ovation. This spontaneous expression has well demonstrated their love for the Palestinian leader and their concern for the people of Palestine.

Although the Palestinian camps in the Lebanon were bessieged, gunned, and occupied, they had been able to hold up against the Flangist (Christian) full scale war against their existence in the country. Brutal acts of violence and tyranny were committed in the occupied camps and even medicine for the injured and the dying was not allowed. It was sad and still sad was the fact that it is generally believed that the Syrian army in the Lebanon supported the Christians and inflicted great losses on the Palestinian-Lebanese muslims. It was indeed a horrible situation. The Muslim Arabs fighting the Muslim Arabs could not be justified on any ground. This open hostility and one brother cutting the throat of the other did not help the cause to which all the contending parties claimed to have been committed. It is clear now that under the cover of the booming guns in the Lebanon the enemy reaped a rich harvest. It had shattered the Palestinian movement to a large extent, but they have been able

to retain their strategic stay in the Lebanon. If the Palestinian movement was totally crushed, it was Israel that could have scored the maximum.

The war continued and no inducement nor any rational appeal had worked ; nor did the small Arab-Peace keeping force in Beirut play any decisive role unless reinforced by combating troops from the Arab Leag states. However the peace keeping move was made by King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. Accordingly a dialogue in which the interested groups participated was held at Riadh. President Asad of Syria agreed to cooperate with the peace accord. Since then the Arab Peace-keeping force mainly composed of Syrian soldiers is maintaining peace in the Lebanon. Except a few sporadic incidents of war frenzy, particularly on the part of the Flangist militia and the assassination of Kamal Junblat, Lebanon is quiet. It is hoped that the Palestinians would once again build up the potential they had and use it against Israel to achieve their goal of self determination.

The disunity among the Muslims have always brought disaster in the past and it may well prove fatal in the future, if the unnecessary fratricidal bloodshed is not avoided.

THE PROBLEM OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is spread over an area of 48,471 square miles north-east of the existing boundaries of Pakistan, bordering China in the north and the USSR beyond the narrow Wakhan strip of Afghanistan. Kashmir has a 902 miles common border with Pakistan, while with India 317 miles. The only two roads that linked Kashmir with the out side world passed through Pakistan. It was, therefore, natural that the trade and commerce of this land-locked state had access through Pakistan. The Kashmir timber was floated through the principal rivers of Pakistan, and their tributaries to the plains of Pakistan, to find its way in the international market. Similarly the inside trade was carried on through the Karachi sea port and several inland trade routes in Pakistan.[1]

The people of Kashmir have been tied with the people of Pakistan by yet another strong bond which cuts across the geographical and linguistic boundaries and which has been the chief source of inspiration in our struggle for independence. It is the lasting bond of Islam. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are predominantly Muslim with a clear majority of 77% according to the 1941 census. The Hindus, Sikhs and other communities combined together formed only 23% of the total population. When Pakistan came into being in 1947 it was expected that in accordance with the provision of the

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1. Hasan, S., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-82.

Indian Independence Act Kashmir would accede to Pakistan. But unfortunately the Hindu Maharaja of the state disregarding the wishes of the majority of the population tried to evade the issue by signing a standstill agreement with India and Pakistan. It was a well planned strategy with a complete understanding with Pandit Nehru to wait for an opportune moment to sign the instrument of accession.[2]

The trouble of Kashmir started in 1896, when as a result of the Treaty of Amritsar the British rulers of India sold the beautiful land to Gulab Singh Dogra for a sum of Rs. 7,50,000. The small Hindu population since then thrived at the cost of the Muslims who constituted the bulk of the population. The tyranny of the Dogra rule and the political and economic dominance of the Hindus of the state forced the Muslims to form their own organization to liberate themselves from the oppressive rule of the Hindu Maharaja and his top Hindu advisers and from the abject poverty to which they had been subjected for years. In 1930 All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was established to press for their political rights. The Maharaja was alarmed and tried to suppress the movement by shooting and killing the innocent Muslims. These events in Kashmir caused commotion in the adjoining Muslim Punjab and as many as 30,000 Muslims crossed into Kashmir to court arrest.[3]

As a result of this movement the Maharaja conceded to the constitution of a partly elected legislative assembly. In 1938 the muslim Conference won 20 out of 21 elected seats. This solidarity caused alarm to the ruling Hindus. They persuaded the leaders of the Muslim conference to change the name of the organization to National Conference to throw open the doors to the non-Muslims. But very soon it was realized that the Hindus were not interested in the liberation movement, but in the perpetuation of their own power. In 1941 most of the leaders left the National Conference and revived the Muslim Conference under the leadership of Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas. The only prominent leader who decided to stay on with the

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2. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-164.
3. Hasan, S., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-164.

National Conference was Sheikh Abdullah.[4]

Immediately after the announcement of June 3 Plan for granting independence to Pakistan and India the Hindu leaders of India activitated their efforts to secure the accession of Kashmir to India. Since India had no direct access to Kashmir measures to overcome this difficulty were being considered. The conspiracy to grab Kashmir with the help of the Hindu ruler was cleverly carried on. The Muslims throughout the state were asked to deposit their fire arms, whereas the Muslim soldiers in the state army were disarmed. It was a criminal trap which was thrown to kill and drive the Muslims out of the state. The Hindu and Sikh states of the East Punjab and the adjoining Rajputana that had already killed and driven out their Muslim population with the help of the Hindu militant organizations like Jan Sangh and Rashtarya Sewak Sangh to accede to India encouraged and helped the Maharaja and the Hindu rulers of the state to massacre the Mulim population to clear the way to accession to India. It was a considered plan and many of the responsible persons in the state administration made no secret of it. The appeals of the Muslims of the state and the Government of Pakistan to abandon such a plan were mocked down. Millions of innocent Muslims were killed and driven out of their homes to take refuge in Pakistan.[5]

The people of Jammu and Kashmir observed August 14, 1947 as Pakistan Day by hoisting Pakistan flag on almost every helmet in the state. The reluctance of the Maharaja now turned into fury. But the liberation movement went on unabated. Poonch was the repository of Muslim ex-service men of the Indian army. Sardar Ibrahim, a London trained barrister organized the movement and travelled through the length and breadth of the state to rouse the spirit of the people. The revolt against the repression of the Maharaja was sudden and furious. The state forces were incapable of containing it. But even in their retreat they savagely assaulted the Muslims.[6]

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4. *Ibid.*
5. Hasan, S, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-164.
6. *Ibid.*

When the incidents of the savage killing of the innocent Muslims reached the tribal people, they crossed into Kashmir to help and save their brothers in faith from the Hindu repression. Things looked now very bleek for the Maharaja He released Sheikh Abdullah who had been in the prison to help him in his efforts to secure the accession of the state to India. But even this gesture did not help him. His forces were completely routed out and on October 25, 1947 under the cover of the night with a caravan load of his belongings he left the state and crossed into India. The Muslims of Kashmir tore the treaty of Amritsar into pieces. The Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir which marked the end of the repressive Dogra rule, was established.[7]

The Muslim Kashmir was happy, but unfortunately the treacherous role of Sheikh Abdullah who was at that time a state guest in Delhi turned the hard won freedom into slavery. On October 26, 1947 the Mahraja addressed a letter to the Government of India seeking its military aid to reconquer Kashmir and as a pre-requisite to provide a legal sanction for the Indian military action he signed the instrument of accession for acceptance by the Government of India and showed his willingness to appoint Sheikh Abdullah the Prime Minister of the interim government. The Government of India readily accepted the accession and to cover up its wicked designs Lord Mountbatten in his letter of acceptance to the Maharaja dated 27 October, 1947 wrote that "as soon as the law and order have been restored in Kashmir, and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of states accession should be settled by a reference to the people.[8]"

The Indian forces were ready to fly. The same day at 9.00 a.m. they were airlifted to Srinagar with a strong air umbrella and headed to storm the defenders of liberation movement. Sheikh Abdullah who was neither a member of the assembly nor did his party have a single representative in the assembly was installed as the head of the administration to uphold the Indian action, which he did as a willing

7. *Ibid.*
8. Hasan, S., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-164.

servant to his master loyally and faithfully. Whereas the Indian forces were busy in fighting against the armed resistance Sheikh Abdullah started his political game by taking repressive measures against the opponents and tyrannizing the common man.[9]

The government of Pakistan made serious efforts to resolve the problem but Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and Lord Mountbatten tried to out manuvre any good move. They did not agree to any suggestion that would in any way weaken their occupation of the territory. Many exchanges of view took place, but the Indian design to perpetuate its hold on the state would not let any agreement executed. While fighting was still going on India referred the Kashmir question to the Security Council under article :4 of the UN Charter and charged Pakistan of aiding the military operation against the state which had acceded to India. Under the same article of the charater Pakistan also made a counter reference to the Security Council enlisting a score of charges against India including the genecide of the Indian muslims, forcible occupation of Junagarh that acceded to Pakistan, withholding the cash balances and military stores and obtaining Kashmir's accession by fraud. The Security Council heard the two sides and on January 20, 1948 adopted a resolution to appoint the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) composed of three members. One member was to be nominated by India and the other by Pakistan and the third by the mutual consent of the countries. But the arrival of the commission was delayed for six months. The Security Council considered many resolutions, but any resolution that would in any way change the position of the Indian occupation was vetoed by the USSR. Hower the Council agreed to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir under the supervision of the Security Council to which both India and Pakistan are committed. But India defied and flouted the council and several times went back to its international commitments.[10]

Pakistan agreed to cease fire in Kashmir and stopped its military operation on January 1, 1949. Here again it seems the real Indian

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9. *Ibid.*

10. Hasan, S., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-164.

design was underestimated and the Pakistan armed forces aiding the forces of Azad Kashmir did not push their driving force to occupy Jammu and the road leading to Srinagar. This they could have easily done, but taking the Indian commitment to plebiscite as an honest pronouncement no serious action in this regard was considered necessary. But the Indian forces of occupation acted otherwise and occupied as much territory of the state as they could possibly do. Since then the Security Council had sent to India and Pakistan Sir Owen Dixon, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, Dr Frank Graham to prepare reports on demilitanxation and the possible steps to be taken to hold a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir. But all these efforts went futile because of the hostile Indian attitude. Whereas the suggestions put forward by the council or its representatives were accepted by Pakistan, India rejected them with an air of sarcasm.[11]

In the meantime things in the occupied Kashmir had been undergoing a sort of political somersault. A constituent assembly of Kashmir came into being and in 1951 a constitution which conceded defence, foreign affairs and communications to India while retaining the rest for Kashmir was adopted. This move was resented by the Hindus. Paddit Nehru, however, agreed to grant a special status to Kashmir only to gain time for his next move. In August 1953 Sheikh Abdullah was put in prison and Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad was installed to serve the Indian cause in Kashmir. On February 6, 1954 the assembly ratified the accession of Kashmir to India. Abdullah was released in 1958 and advocated for a free and impartial plebiscite, but the Government of India did not care for his utterances and went on with the process of integration.[12]

Following the removal of Sheikh Abdullah a few other puppet governments were brought to power and each was made to exit when the purpose for its installation was served. The stalemate continued, while Pandit Nehru with the support of the USSR brushed aside all moves to resolve the problem. But when the Chinese forces inflicted a humiliating defeat on India in NEFA, he was a little

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11. Hasan, S., *op. cit.* pp. 79-164.
12. *Ibid.*

disturbed. He released Sheikh Abdullah and sent him to Pakistan on an exploratory mission, but immediately after his arrival in Pakistan Pandit Nehru died. Sheikh Abdullah rushed back and as such no political move to resolve the problem could be made.[13]

As usual the Indian Government remained hostile to Pakistan. In 1964 the territorial dispute in the Runnkutch area and the Indian occupation of the Pakistan land led to an armed conflict in which India was defeated and its army was forced back. This humiliation hightened the temper and the Indian Prime Minister declared that he was free to open fronts of his own choice. In 1965 conditions in Kashmir got worsened. The Pakistani forces were pushed hard to make same counter moves. In the first three days of September, 1965 the Pakistan Army took an offensive and over ran the fortified Chhamb and Jaurian, north of Gujrat in the Bhimbar sector. The sealing of the difficult mountain terrain and the pineer move beyond Tavi river in the Jammu sector horrified the Indian army. On September 6, 1965 the Indian army attacked Lahore and crossed into Pakistan near Wagah and Jallo to penetrate into Lahore. But the Pakistan armed forces repulsed the attack and defended the frontiers to the last drop of their blood. Many precious lives were lost but the enemy was halted. In the Kasur sector our forces drove deep into the Indian territory. This made the Indian leadership furious and they threw all their armed might and the largest number of tanks on Chawinda to run over Sialkot and Wazirabad. A fierce tank battle was fought with reinforced strength, but our gallant forces defended their positions courageously and buried the armed might of India on the plains of Chawinda. In all the sectors of fighting our airforce provided the necessary cover and had an edge over the Indian air assaults.[14]

When the Indian position was weakened the Security Council went into session and called upon the India and Pakistan to stop fighting. The cease fire was effected on September 23, 1965. The USSR came out to help India and initiated a peace move and

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13. Hasan, S, *op. cit., pp.* 79-164.
14. *Ibid.*

proposed that the peace conference in question should be held at Tashkent. The parleys were held accordingly. The USSR was sitting on the negotiation table as a meditator. But the long history of its support to India would preclude that the sping was on the Indian side. In the Tashkent negotiations Pakistan failed to capitalize its physical gains. It is said that these gains were not well bartered on the political table at Tashkent.

The wounds of the 1965 war were still fresh when the Indian conspiracy to break Pakistan into pieces hung over Pakistan. In 1969-70 Pakistan was caught in the worst political turmoil since it came into being in 1947. The military government made great blunders and showed no political sagacity to avert the possible mishap. But mistakes after mistakes coupled with the tragic conspiracy of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman resulted the penetration of the Indian forces into East Pakistan. The fighting on the western sector except the courageous take over of Chhamb in Kashmir and small but strategically important area in the Ferozpur sector did not show any edge over the Indian forces. East Pakistan fell. The Pakistan army suffered a humiliating surrender following which the surrendring personal was kept as prisoners of war in India.

The representatives of India and Pakistan again sat on the negotiating table at Simla without the aid of any big power. Mr. Bhutto led the Pakistan delegation to the Simla Conference whereas Mrs. Gandhi attended the conference on behalf of India. The agreement was reached when the negotions were about to break. Pakistan received back its armed personel and the occupied territory without compromising any of its principles. The present government is committed to solving the problem of Kashmir, but some people fear that resumption of diplomatic relations and normalization of trade and communication links may prejudice our long stand on the question of the right of self determination for the people of Kashmir However the present administration has unequivocally declared that principles could not be sacrified for small gains. Pakistan is not only committed to the cause, but is striving to secure an equitable solution for the problem of Kashmir and that could be no less than the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir to exercise

there free will. The struggle of the people of Kashmir is our struggle and indeed it will continue until justice is ensured. Only a strong Pakistan with a sound economy, political stability and invincible military force can be a source of encouragement to the people of Kashmir and can force the world opinion to see that the unjust occupation of Kashmir by the Indian forces is the negation of the human rights and the earlier it is restored the better. This would avoid confrontation hatred and bloodshed. Let us hope and pray that the day would not be far off, when the brothern in Kashmir shall enjoy the rights of a free citizen as proud members of our society.

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MEDIAEVAL INDIA UNDER MOHAMMADAN RULE

By

Stanley Lane-Poole

Stanley Lane-Poole was the son of William Lane who compiled a monumental lexikon of Arabic English languages in big eight volumes. Like his father, Lane-Pool was also one of the distinguished historian and scholar of his period. He wrote several books, mostly on the history of Egypt and India. The present book entitled *"Mediaeval India under Mohammadan Rule"* is one of the most important work on the very eventful period of the history of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It deals with the historial events which took place from the advent of Islam in this region (712) up to the fall of the Mughal Empire and the revival of the Hindus (1707–1764). This study is not merely the narration of the major historical incidents but it gives the picture of the Social, economic and religious aspects of the masses. One can differ from his formulations and the analysis of certain things, but nobody can deny his scholarship and deep analytic attitude.

The author has given the many illustrations and the chronological and genealogical tables which are very useful for the researchers and historians.

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